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MORE'S UTOPIA.

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More's Utopia.

THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION THEREOF MADE BY RAPHE ROBYNSON,
(Sometime Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford),
PRINTED FROM THE SECOND EDITION 1556.

To which is prefixed

THE LIFE OF SIR THOS. MORE,

WRITTEN BY HIS SON-IN-LAW,

WILLIAM ROPER,

REPRINTED FROM

HEARNE'S EDITION, 1716.

Edited, with Introduction, Notes, Glossary and Index of Names,

BY J. RAWSON LUMBY, D.D.
NORRISIAN PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY.

EDITED FOR THE SYNDICS OF THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

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INTRODUCTION.

Of the two books of the Utopia, the second was written a year before the first. The first, which constitutes what may be called the framework or setting for the second, was completed in 1516, just about the time when More, though strongly urged to do so by Cardinal Wolsey, had declined to give up his position as undersheriff, and his income from legal work, that he might enter the service of Henry VIII. We find therefore that there are put into the mouth of the supposed traveller to Utopia many of the arguments which had no doubt weighed with More in the decision at which he had arrived. When, for example, it is urged upon Hythloday in the dialogue (p. 24) that he might bestow his time fruitfully, for the private commodity of his friends and the general profit of all sorts of people, as well as for his own advancement, by getting into some king's court, he replies that in his present condition he lives at liberty and after his own mind, which great estates and peers of the realm rarely can do; and beside this, most princes now take delight rather in warlike matters and feats of chivalry than in the good feats of peace, while their present counsellors will admit into the councils no other independent man's advice. So it comes to pass that any one putting forward what he has learnt from history or experience, is little likely to find acceptance for his views. Here we may be sure that we are listening to an exposition of More's own feelings, and so we may also conclude that we have in other parts of the book his views of the condition of the society in England, when Raphael is made the speaker in the

conversation before Cardinal Morton. The Utopia therefore is interesting as giving us in this way an insight into the mind of its author on topics of the greatest importance at the time when he lived.

More represents the conversation which is set forth in the Utopia as having taken place at Antwerp. The traveller, Raphael Hythloday, is introduced to More by his friend Peter Giles, and that they may hear more conveniently the wonders which he has to tell, they betake themselves to a quiet seat in More's garden. Raphael is represented as having been one of the companions of Amerigo Vespucci, but he had been left behind in the New World when that discoverer last returned to Europe. The listeners to his narrative at first put now and then a question to the speaker and so the way is paved for making him tell his experience of England, where he had once visited Cardinal Morton, and he relates many things in the government and customs of the English which are worthy to be condemned. He first dwells on the number of thieves, and the frequency of capital punishment for theft, and insists that such severity is not likely to deter offenders, while at the same time so extreme a penalty as death for theft is not equitable.

He next complains of the raising of rents beyond the real value of the land, of the number of idle retainers who when their masters die must steal or starve, of the unnecessary multitudes of soldiers that are kept, of the decay of husbandry, and the great evil of increased sheep-farming, seeing that it employs few men while husbandry furnishes work and wages for many. He then proceeds to point out the dearness of all commodities in the land, victuals, wool and cattle; speaks in strong terms of the licentiousness in manners and of the greed of the rich, who by monopolies and engrossing regulate the markets just as they please.

The reformer would not have thieves punished with death, but would let them live and so have the profit of their labour for the nation. He glances at the warlike array of all Europe as he proceeds to give his opinions against the universal fondness for war, but soon returns to what were the special sorrows

of England in the time of Henry VIII. The debasing of coin for the enrichment of the monarch, the pretence of war that money may be raised by taxation though it shall never be spent, the fines exacted on account of old and obsolete laws which are revived for the purposes of extortion either in the form of penalties on offenders, or in payments for dispensations by those who do not choose to observe them, all carry the mind back to the close of the reign of the seventh Henry, when Empson and Dudley were in the height of their power. In such wise does More declare through his fictitious narrator the difficulties which he felt would attend on life in the royal service. To him it would have been for ever a swimming against the stream, a struggle to remedy overwhelming evils, with no one to support him, and so with small hope of success.

The Utopia was perhaps the most powerful among such lamentations over the state of the land at this time, but there were many voices raised with the same cry. Among the publications of the Early English Text Society may be found of the same character—

(1) 'Certain causes gathered together wherein is shewed the 'decay of England only by the great multitude of sheep, to the 'utter decay of household keeping, maintenance of men, dearth 'of corn, and other notable discommodities' (about 1550).

(2) 'Henry Brinklow's complaint of Roderick Mors unto the 'Parliament house of England his natural country for the redress 'of certain wicked laws, evil customs, and cruel decrees.' This book, like the Utopia, dwells on the enhancing of rents, the enclosing of parks, forests and chases, the selling of wards for marriage, of the law's delays, of lords which have turned shepherds, and many other kindred evils.

(3) And over the same ground with the Utopia goes still more closely 'Thomas Starkey's description of England in the 'reign of King Henry VIII., conveyed in a dialogue between 'Cardinal Pole and Thomas Lupset, Lecturer in Rhetoric at 'Oxford.' Here we find exactly the same complaints as are made by More concerning the decay of towns and villages, the increase of sheep-farms and enclosures, the growth of poverty

and crime, the characters of the clergy and lawyers, which are both painted in dark colours. Men of religion were a scandal to their profession, and men of law were not slow to follow their example according to the view which Starkey gives us of his own times, and we gather confirmation of it to the full from other sources, among which, to mention no more, Latimer's sermons at Paul's Cross supply evidence in abundance.

With the framework of this first part did More enclose the fiction which he had written in the previous year, to shadow forth remedies for evils against which plain and direct speaking would probably have been dangerous. He tells us (p. 23) that from Hythloday's narrative 'these our cities, nations, countries and kingdoms may take example to amend their faults, enormities and errors.' Such reform is the drift of his whole narrative. We can see how his heart longed and laboured after those things which he spake of to his son-in-law Roper, saying, 'Were they well established in Christendom, would to God I were put in a sack and cast into the Thames.' For there is much in the laws and customs of the imaginary Utopia that holds up to admiration the blessing of universal peace among nations for which More was constantly sighing and praying, and much too that proclaims a desire for the time when the Church should be settled in an uniformity of Religion.

And as we turn over the chapters of the second part we can see what were More's ideas of the remedies which ought to be applied to the evils in the society in which he lived. He first describes the country of Utopia and one of its chief cities, and through the whole we may observe that England is in his mind. Utopia is an island, and its great river is very like to the river Thames, and is in the same way spanned by a bridge of stonework with gorgeous and substantial arches. Its government is representative like that of More's native land. Husbandry and tillage are chiefly regarded and advanced among the Utopians, as all reformers in More's day thought they should be in England. There is in Amaurote abundance of fresh water, the streets are broad and kept clear of all filth, the buildings are good, with gardens at the back of all the houses, and such

regard for wholesome conditions of life would More have enforced on the people of London. No man is allowed to be idle, and the incorrigibly lazy are banished from the land. But though all are to labour, yet by the wise provisions of the country, this labour is abridged, and to make the hours of toil as brief as conveniently may be is an object kept continually in view. Thus there is abundant time for all to be well educated and to take interest in the study of good literature. By making their buildings sound and of a character to be permanent, and by use of clothing rather durable than showy, the labour of builders and of workers in cloth is greatly diminished. So that many times an open proclamation is made that they shall bestow fewer hours on work. For all the time that can be spared from the necessary occupations and affairs of the commonwealth, the citizens should withdraw from bodily service to the free liberty of the mind and the garnishing of the same. Men are 'not to be wearied (p. 79) from early in the morning till late in the evening, with continual work like labouring and toiling beasts : for this is worse than the miserable and wretched condition of bondmen.'

Such a lessening of labour is gained by a community of all things, so that none are in need, and there is no end to be served by amassing more than each man can use. By this is banished all cause for covetousness or extortion. Meals are taken in common halls where the young are mixed with their elders, that they may be guided both in words and behaviour. The Utopians set no store by precious metals, but employ gold and silver for their vessels of baser use, and so the wearing of gold has grown to be a reproach, since in Utopia the fetters of bondmen are made out of it. They devote themselves to the exact sciences, as arithmetic and geometry, and while holding astronomy in esteem, have no faith in or regard for the speculations of astrology. In their moral philosophy they regard felicity as the *summum bonum*, but it is to be a felicity which postpones the immediate pleasure for the sake of the more remote, and sacrifices the less pleasure for the sake of the greater, and esteems the felicity of the body politic far above

that of the individual. Such felicity must therefore consist in all that is good and honest, and so becomes a virtue and that whereunto man was ordained of God. The body is not to be afflicted for the mere sake of mortification unless some benefit is to result either directly to the individual or to the commonwealth from his example.

Of those who break their laws they make bondmen but leave them not without hope that by a return to good conduct they may regain their liberty. The laws in Utopia are few, because it is against all right and justice that men should be bound to those laws, which either are in number more than can be read, or blinder and darker than men may well understand.

Of leagues and treaties the Utopians have none. Those between other countries are so often concluded, and then broken and renewed, that in Utopia no confidence is placed in them. On this matter More, no doubt having in his mind the many treaties made and broken between England, France, Germany, and the Pope at this time, writes with much satire, 'Here in Europe and especially in these parts where the faith 'of Christ reigneth, the majesty of leagues is everywhere 'esteemed holy and inviolable partly through the justice and 'goodness of princes and partly at the reverence and motion of 'the head bishops. Which like as they make no promise them- 'selves but they do very religiously perform the same, so they 'exhort all princes in any wise to abide by their promises, and 'them that refuse or deny so to do, by their pontifical power and 'authority they compel thereto.'

War and battle the Utopians abhor, and only fight in defence of their own country. They would rather conquer at any time by craft than by blows, and they prefer to spend the lives of mercenaries in their necessary wars rather than those of their own citizens. They therefore use money in their wars to hire soldiers and also to offer bribes among the enemy that deserters may come over and so weaken the adversary's strength, and they even make public proclamation of rewards to those who will slay or take captive the chief leaders of the opposite party.

They have many kinds of religion in Utopia, but yet all agree in worshipping a common Father of all, to whom they attribute the origin and growth and change of all things. They received Christ's religion the more readily because they were told of the religious houses, the constitution of which had some likeness to their own community of goods. And they were minded to choose one of their number to be a priest of the Christian religion, even without any episcopal ordination. Against irreligious persons they have laws which exclude them from all honours. Of death they teach men not to be afraid, as it cannot be well pleasing to God, if His creatures run not gladly to Him when they are called. Even those most devoted to a religious life among them employ themselves in busy labour and good exercises. Their priests are very few in number, and may be women as well as men. Their persons are sacred from ordinary punishments if they commit any offence, and they are left only to God and their own conscience. The people observe holidays and have churches for public worship, but for that which is peculiar in each man's religion and forms no part of the public faith, provision is made that its rites may be observed by each privately and at home. They meet for worship in churches with a 'dim religious light' that their thoughts may not be distracted. They have no images, and so each man conceives of God according to his own thoughts and feelings. They come to church on the first and last day of each month and year, and those who feel that they have sins to confess make confession before they come, wives at the feet of their husbands, and children at those of their parents, and desire pardon for their offences. They are afraid to come to worship with troubled consciences. In church the men sit on the right and the women on the left side. They sacrifice no beasts, but burn frankincense and other sweet spices during their service. All in the church are robed in white. At the entrance of the priest, who is clad in a finely wrought dress covered with the feathers of birds, they all fall to the ground in reverence. After they have risen up they sing praises to God and have an accompaniment of musical instruments. After this

they offer solemn general prayers, so composed that every man may privately apply to himself that which is commonly spoken of all. They thank God for all their blessings and especially for placing them in that state and religion which seemeth to be best. At the same time they pray that if there be any other better state or religion God will reveal it unto them of His goodness, and will after death take them unto Himself. The prayers ended, they again prostrate themselves, and presently afterwards rise and go forth and spend the rest of their day in 'plays and 'exercise of chivalry.'

Thus does More in his imaginary republic suggest remedies for the evils most rife in his day. He longed to see more thought taken for the labouring classes and their toil lessened, he wished that selfishness and greed and the making haste to be rich should be abated. He had perfect faith in the blessings of education, and so would have every one to partake in them; and feeling that a sound mind could only exist in a sound body he would force due regard to be paid to conditions of health in the cities of the land and the homes of the people. He was ever desirous that wars should cease, and that the essentials in religion should be most dwelt upon as likely to lead to unity, while for the sake of non-essentials there should be no schism. His book therefore has a living interest for the people of to-day, for the same desires and aims fill the minds of the best among men at the present time; but it is a homily on the hopelessness of labour in this field, that most schemes which are put forward for the advancement of these noblest ends are doomed to be as little accepted as were More's in his time, and generally come to be classed under a title drawn from his essay, and to be styled 'Utopian.'

TABLE OF DATES OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN THE LIFE OF SIR THOS. MORE.

His birth (7th Feb.)	$147\frac{7}{8}$
His life at Oxford	1492—3
His studies at New Inn	1494—5
He enters at Lincoln's Inn	1496
More first meets Erasmus	1498
He enters Parliament	$150\frac{3}{4}$
Temporary retirement from public life	1504
First Marriage	1505
Death of Henry VII. and accession of Henry VIII.	1509
More made Undersheriff	1509
Death of his first wife	1511 or 1512
Second Marriage	1515
Second part of 'Utopia' written	1515
First part	1516
His life at Court commences	1518
League of Cambray	1529
He is made Lord Chancellor	1529
Resigns his office	1532
His execution (6th July)	1535

OF THE LANGUAGE OF ROBYNSON'S TRANSLATION.

FROM the irregularity which characterizes all the orthography in works of this date it is impossible to draw from them any conclusions about the pronunciation of words or on the main peculiarities of English inflexions in the Tudor period. Sometimes, for example, an *e* final is preserved where the older language would have preserved it, but in almost as many cases it is omitted, and so there can be no certainty whether such final letters were sounded or not. It is therefore only possible for us to notice in the matter of language some few usages which are of frequent occurrence in this version.

It is a favourite practice of the translator to give two English words for one in the Latin text, and frequent instances of this have been recorded in the notes. It would seem as though Robynson had felt that he was not able to bring out by one English word the whole of what was contained in his original. And this must often be the case with translators, for no two languages ever entirely run on all fours, and it is therefore easy to account for Robynson's duplicate renderings. The same sort of double translation is a marked feature in King Alfred's version of Gregory's 'Pastoral Care.'

In some few instances the French orthography has exercised its influence upon his English spelling. Thus we have *avauncement* (3. 10), *endevoire* (3. 22), *royalme* (31. 1), *perfet* (105. 30), *aventure* (141. 16), and several others.

Among purely English words the only one of which the spelling is not easy to account for is *skasely* or *scasely* (68. 13; 82. 30; 129. 11) for *scarcely*. It would almost appear as though

in pronunciation there had been in Robynson's time a dropping of the liquid, but yet the *r* is preserved when he writes *skarsnes.*

To is very frequent for *too,* as 3. 5; 12. 1, &c., and conversely *too* for *to,* as 23. 5, but this is no doubt due to the absence of all rule about spelling, and the same may be said of *where*=*were* (3. 6).

It may have been some singularity of pronunciation which produced *harde* (5. 3) and *hard* (52. 19) as the past tense of the verb *hear.* The older form was *hyrde.*

But it is in the use of the pronouns that the greatest peculiarities may be noticed. Sometimes they are omitted, as 2. 16, 'Whiche busie labour ... when Diogenes sawe ... immediately girded about him his phylosophicall cloke,' where the long parenthesis in the sentence may perhaps account for the omission of *he* before *girded.* Another example will be found 25. 6, where except by the help of the Latin it is difficult to catch at first the meaning of the sentence, 'There be ynow of them that sue for great mens frendshippes; and therefore thinke it no great hurte if they have not me &c.,' where *thinke* is really= *think thou*, Lat. *ne putes.* So 35. 30, 'as please them' is for 'as it may please them,' and 29. 32, 'These men as sone as their mayster is dead, or be sicke themselfes' is for 'or *they* be sicke themselfes.'

Again a pronoun is inserted where we should not now use it. Thus 9. 4, 'The faultes, I doubt not, but thou wilt wink at *them.*' So 42. 13, 'to conceal suche an enterpries *it* is death.' Similar superfluous pronouns will be found 46. 12; 59. 9; 60. 14; 83. 33, &c.

The objective case of *myself* is not unfrequently written *me self*, as 3. 17; 5. 6, &c., and *the selfe* is found 106. 33; 107. 4, but the other forms are also quite as common.

The own is a rendering of Lat. *suus*, where we should now say *its own.* But in the language of Robynson *its* had no existence. So we have 101. 29, 'Of *the owne* nature a thinge so unprofytable,' and 113. 29, 'Shal it not know *the owne* wealthe,' and 147. 10, 'the trueth of *the own* powre would come to lyghte.'

With Robynson *other* is plural as well as singular when used without a noun and=*other persons*. Thus 5. 16, 'this man with divers *other*,' and 29. 22, 'to live of that whiche *other* have laboured for,' and in many more places.

In the same way *whosoever* is a plural in 98. 19 'Finally *whosoever* for anye offense *be* infamed, by *their* eares hange rynges of golde.'

He uses *that* for *that which* not unfrequently, as 23. 23, 'I am determined to reherse onely *that* he tolde us.' So 77. 10, 'When he hath rashely spoken *that* commeth to his tonges ende.'

The which is found in the same sense 53. 12, 'there is no waye so proffitable, nor more honorable, as *the whyche* hathe a shewe and coloure of justice.'

He employs *very they* where we should now say *those very men*, as 129. 25, 'yea even *very they* that avaunce themselves authours of lyke counsell.'

In the form *whomewyth* (136. 23)=with whom, we have an imitation of the Latin *quicum*, by placing the preposition as a suffix to the pronoun governed by it.

Beside these pronominal peculiarities there are in the text a few peculiar forms of adverbs.

In the older English we often find adverbs formed by the possessive cases of nouns as *nedes* i.e. *needs*=of necessity, of need. Of the like form though not derived from nouns are such words as *towards*, *forwards*, of which we have the duplicates *toward* and *forward*. After this form we have in the Utopia *hedlonges*=headlong 59. 32; and *amonges*=among 21. 15, while *togethers*=together is of constant occurrence, as 6. 12; 9. 9; 10. 11 &c.

The use of double negatives is not uncommon as 67. 22, 'The sea is not roughe *nor* mounteth *not* with great waves,' and 141. 12, '*Nor* do they *not* set drudgeis and slaves aworke about it.'

We find now and then an instance of the case absolute, as (107. 25), '*These laws not offended*, it is wysdome that thou looke to thine own wealthe.'

There can however be no doubt that some of the peculiarities of the language are due to the fact that it is a translation. Thus in 108. 27, we read 'Because that in whom they (i.e. *certain pleasures*) have ones taken place, all his mynde they possesse with a false opinion of pleasure,' where the inversion of order in the sentence is owing to the author's attempt to range his English words in the same fashion as the Latin.

In the same way the broken construction in 94. 4 is intelligible when we read the original. 'If they tarry in a place longer then one daye, than there every one of them *falleth* to his owne occupation, and *be* very gentilly enterteined of the workemen.'

In the printing of the text, the punctuation and orthography of the original edition have been exactly followed, as well as the division of the text into paragraphs. But the reader will see that the punctuation had not the same value then as it has now and must often be neglected altogether. Thus in 96. 10, we have 'The mooste parte of it they never aske. For that thynge whiche is to them no profite to take it from other, to whom it is profitable: they thinke it no righte nor conscience.' Which is meant to be read as if it were pointed with a stop at *profite* and little or none at *profitable* and none at all after *other*.

TO THE SECOND EDITION.

My thanks are due to several friends who have favoured me with their notes on the first edition, by which this volume will be found to be improved, and I desire specially to make my acknowledgements to the Rev. J. H. Lupton, Sur-Master of St Paul's School, London, and formerly Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge, and W. F. Smith, Esq., Fellow and Classical Lecturer of St John's College, for their valuable suggestions.

CAMBRIDGE,
September, 1883.

THE LIFE OF S^R THOMAS MORE

In hoc ✠ *signo vinces.*

FORASMUCH as Sir Thomas Moore Knight sometyme Lord Chauncelor of England, a man of singular vertue and of a cleare unspotted conscience, (as wittnesseth Erasmus,) more pure and white then the whitest snow, and of such an angelicall witt, as England, he sayth, never had the like before, nor never shall againe, universally, as well in the lawes of our Realme (a studie in effect able to occupie the whole lif of a man) as in all other sciences, right well studied, was in his dayes accounted a man worthie famous memory; I William Roper (though most unworthie) his sonne in law by marriage of his eldest daughter, knowinge no one man that of hime and of his doinges understood so much as my self for that I was continually resident in his house by the space of 16 yeares and more, thought it therfore my parte to sett forth such matters touchinge his lyfe as I could at this present call to remembraunce. Amonge which very many notable thinges not meet to have beene forgotten, through negligence and longe continuance of tyme, are slipped out of my mynd. Yeat to th' entente the same shall not all utterly perish, I have at the desire of diverse worshipfull frendes of myne, though very farr from the grace and worthines of them, nevertheles as far fourth as my meane witt, memory and learninge would serve me, declared so much thereof as in my poore judgment seemed worthie to be remembred.

This Sir Thomas Moore after he had beene brought up in the Latine tonge at St. Anthonie's in London, he was, by his

Father's procurement receaved into the house of the right reverend, wise and learned prelat Cardinall Mourton, where (thoughe hee was yonge of yeares, yet) would he at Christmas tyd sodenly sometymes stepp in among the players, and never stud[y]inge for the matter, make a parte of his owne there presently amonge them, which made the lookers on more sport then all the players besid. In whose witt and towardnesse the Cardinall much delightinge, would often say of him unto the nobles that divers tymes dyned with him, "This child here wayting at the table, whosoever shall live to see it, will prove a marveilous man." Wheruppon for his learninge he placed him at Oxford, where when he was both in the Greeke and Latine tonge sufficiently instructed, he was then for the studie of the law of the Realme put to an Inne of the Chauncerie, called New Inne, where for his tyme, he very well prospered. And from thence was committed to Lincolne's Inne with very smale allowaunce, continuing there his studie untill he was made and accounted a worthie utter barrister. After this, to his great commendation, he read for a good space a publicke lecture of St. Augustine *de Civitate Dei* in the church of St. Laurence in the ould Jurye, wherunto there resorted Doctor Grosyn an excelent cunning man, and all the cheif learned of the cittie of London. Then was he made Reader of Furnifalle's Inne, so remayning by the space of three yeares and more. After which tyme he gave himselfe to devotion and prayer in the Charterhouse of London, religiously living there without vow about 4 yeares, untill he resorted to the house of one Mr Colte a gentleman of Essex that had oft invited him thither, havinge three daughters whose honest conversation and verteous education provoked him there especially to sett his affection. And albeit his mynd most served him to the second daughter, for that he thought her the fayrest and best favored, yet when he considered that it would be both great greif and some shame also to the eldest to see her younger sister in marriage preferred before her, he then of a certyne pittie framed his fancie towardes her, and soone after married her, never the lesse not discontinuing his studie of the law at Lincolne's Inne, but applyinge

still the same untill he was called to the Bench, and had read twise, which is as often as any Judge of the law doth read.

Before which tyme he had placed himself and his wif at Bucklesburie in London, where he had by her three daughters, in vertue and learning brought up from there youth, whom he would often exhort to take vertue and learning for there meate, and play but for there sauce.

Who ere ever he had beene reader in Court was in the latter tyme of Kinge Henry the seaventh made a Burgesse in the Parliament, wherein ther were by the King demaunded (as I have hard it reported) about three fifteenes for the marriag of his eldest daughter, that then should be the Scottish Queene. At the last debatinge wherof he mad such argumentes and reasons thereagainst, that the King's demaunds were thereby overthrowne. So that one of the King's privie chamber, named Mr Tyler, being present thereat, brought word to the Kinge out of the Parliament house, that a beardles boy had disapoynted all his pourposes. Whereupon the King conceiving grete indignation towardes him could not be satisfied untill he had some way revenged it. And forasmuch as he nothing havinge, nothinge could loose, his grace devised a causeles quarrell against his Father, keepinge him in the Tower untill he had payed him an hundred pownds fyne. Schortly hereupon it fortuned that this Sir Thomas Moore comminge in a suite to Dr Fox bishopp of Winchester, one of the King's privie councell, they called him aside, and pretendinge great favour towardes him, promised him that if he would be ruled by him, he would not faile but into the Kinge's favour againe to restore him, meaninge, as it was after conjectured, to cause him therby to confesse his offence against the Kinge, whereby his heighnes might with better coulour have occasion to revenge his displeasure against him. But when he came from the Bishopp, he fell in communication with one Mr Whitforde his familiar frend, then Chaplen to that Bishopp and after a Father of Sion, and shewed him what the Bishopp had sayd unto him, desiringe to have his advise therein, who for the passion of God pray'd him in no wise to follow his counsell,

"for my Lord my Master (quoth he) to serve the King's turne will not stick to agree to his owne Father's death." So Sir Thomas Moore returned to the Bishopp no more. And had not the King soone after died, he was determined to have gone over the sea, thinking that beinge in the King's indignation he could not live in England without great daunger. After he was made one of the under-shiriffs of London, by which office and his learninge togither as I have harde him say, he gained without greefe not so litle as foure hundred poundes by the yeare: sith there was at that tyme in none of the Prince's courtes of the lawes of this Realme any matter of importaunce in controversie wherin he was not with the one partie of counsell. Of whom, for his learninge, wisdome, and knowledge and experience, men had him in such estimation, that before he was come to the service of King Henry the eight, at the suit and instance of the English Merchauntes, he was, by the King's consent, mad twise Embassador in certaine great causes betweene them and the Merchauntes of the Stilliard, whose wise and discreete dealinge therin, to his heigh commendation, comminge to the King's understanding, provokinge his Highnesse to cause Cardinall Woolsie, (then Lord Chancellor) to procure him to his service. And albeit the Cardinall accordinge to the King's request earnestlie travelled with him therfore, among many other his perswasions alleaginge unto him, how deere his service must needs be unto his Majestie, which could not of his honor with lesse then he should yearly louse thereby seeme to recompence him, yet he, loath to chaunge his estate, made such meanes to the Kinge by the Cardinall to the contrarie, that his Grace for that tyme was well satisfied. Now happned there after this a greate Shipp of his that then was Pope to arrive at Southampton, whiche the Kinge clayminge for a forfeiture, the Pope's Embassador by suite unto his Grace obtayned, that he might for his Master the Pope have counsell learned in the Lawes of this Realme, and the matter in his owne presence (being himself a singular Civillian) in some publicke place to be openly heard and discussed. At which tyme there could none of our Law be found so meete to be of

Counsell with this Embassador as Sir Thomas Moore, who could report to the Embassador in Latine all the reasons and argumentes by the learned Counsell on both sydes alleaged. Upon this the Councellors on ether partie in presence of the Lord Chauncellor, and other the Judges in the Starr Chamber, had audience accordingly. Where Sir Thomas Moore not only declared to the Embassedor the whole effect of all there opiniones, but also in defence on the Pope's syd argued so learnedly himselfe, that both was the foresayd forfeiture to the Pope restord, and himself amonge all the hearers, for his upright and commendable demeanor therin, so greatly renowned, that for no intreatie would the Kinge from henceforth be induced any longer to forbeare his service. At whose first entrie thereunto he made him Master of the Requests, havinge then no better roome voyd, and within a moneth after, Knight and one of his privie Counsell, and so from tyme to tyme was by the Prince advaunced, continuinge in his singular favour and trustie service 20 yeares and above, a good part whereof used the King upon holidayes, when he had done his owne devotions to send for him into his travers, and there some tyme in matters of Astronimie, Geometrie, Divinitie and such other Faculties, and some tyme in his worldly affayeres, to sitt and conferr with him, and otherwhiles would he in the night have him up into the leades, there to consider with him the diversities, courses, motions and operations of the Starrs and Planetts. And because he was of a pleasant disposition, yt pleased the Kinge and Queene, after the Counsell had suppt, at the tyme of there supper for there pleasure commonly to call for him, and to be merry with them. When he perceaved so much in his talke to delight, that he could not once in a munth gett leave to go home to his wif and children (whose companie he most desired) and to be absent from the Court 2 dayes togither, but that he should be thither sent for againe, he much mislikinge this restraint of libertie, begann thereuppon somewhat to dissemble his nature, and so by litle and litle from his former mirth to disuse himself, that he was of them from thencefurth no more so ordinarielie sent for. Then dyed one

Mr Weston Treasurer of the Exchequer, whose office after his death the Kinge of his owne offer, without any askinge, freely gave unto Sir Thomas Moore. In the 14 yeare of his Grace's Raigne was there a Parliament houlden, whereof Sir Thomas Moore was chosen Speaker, who beinge very loath to take that Roome upon him, made an oration, not now extant, to the King's Heighnes for his discharge therof. Whereunto when the Kinge would not consent, hee spake unto his Grace in forme followinge: "Sith I perceave (most redoubted Soverraigne) that it standeth not with your Heighnes pleasure to reforme this election, and cause it to be chaunged, but have, by the mouth of the Right Reverend Father in God the Legat your Heighnes Chauncelor, therunto given your most Royall consent, and have of your benignitie determined, far above that I may beare, to enable me, and for this office to repute me meete, rather then ye should seeme to impute unto your Commones, that they had unmeetly chosen, I am therfore, and alwayes shal be, readie obediently to conforme my selfe to th' accomplishment of your heigh commaundment. In my most humble wise beseechinge your most noble Majestie, that I may, with your Grace's favour, before I farther enter thereunto, make myne humble intercession unto your Heighnes for tow lowly petitions, the one privatly concerninge my self, th' other the whole assemblie of your common house. And for my self (Gratious Soveraigne) that if it mishapp me in any thinge hereafter, that is in the behalfe of your Commones in your heigh presence to be declared, to mistake my message, and for lacke of good utteraunce by me misrehersed, to pervert or impaire the prudent instructions, that it may then like your most noble Majestie of your aboundaunt Grace, with the eie of your accustomed pittie, to pardon my simplicitie, giving me leave againe to repaire to the Common house, and there to conferr with them, and to take there substantiall advice, what thinge, and in what wise I shall on there behalf utter and speake before your noble Grace: to th' intent there prudent advises and affaires be not by my simpleness and folly hindred or impaired. Which thinge if it should so happ, as it were

well likly to mishapp in me (if your Grace's benignitie releived not my oversight) it could not fayle to be, duringe my life, a perpetuall grudg and heavinesse to my hart. The helpe and remedie wherof in manner aforesayd remembred, is (most Gratious Soveraigne) my first lowly suit and humble petition unto your most noble Grace. Myne other humble request, most excelent Prince, is this. For as much as there be of your Commons here, by your heigh commaundment assembled for your Parliament, a great number which are after the accostomed manner appoynted in the common house to treat and advise of the common affayres among themselves apart: and albeit (my leige Lorde) that, accordinge to your prudent advise, by your honorable Writts every where declared, there hath beene as due diligence used in sending up to your Heighness court of Parliament the most discreete persones out of every quarter, that men could esteeme meete thereto, whereby it is not to be doubted but that there is a very substantiall assembly of right wise and politicke persons: yet (most victorious Prince) sith amonge soe many wise men, nether is every man wise alike, nor among soe many men like well witted, every man like well spoken; and it oftneth happneth, that likewise as much folly is uttered with painted polished speeches, so many boysterous and rude in language see deepe in deed, and give right substantiall counsell: and syth also in matters of great importaunce the mynd is often so occupied in the matter, that a man rather studieth what to say, then how; by what reason whereof the wisest man and best spoken in a countrie fortuneth amonge, while his minde is fervent on the matter, somwhat to speake in such wise, as he would afterward wish to have beene uttered otherwise, and yeat noe worse will had when he spake it, then he hath when he would so gladly chaunge it: Therefore (most Gratious Soveraigne) consideringe that in all your heigh courtes of Parliament is nothing intreated but of matters of waight and importaunce concerninge your Realme, and your owne Royall estate, it could not faile to lett and put to silence from the givinge of theire advice and counsell many of your discreete commons [except *they]* weare utterly discharged of all doubt and

feare how any thinge that should happen them to speake, should happen of your Heighnes to be taken: and in this poynte your well knowne benignitie putteth every man in right good hope. Yet such is the waight of the matter, such is the reverend dread that the timorous hartes of your naturall subjectes conceave towardes your heigh Majestie (our most redubted Kinge and undoubted Soveraigne) that they cannot in this poynt find themselves satisfied, except your gratious bountie herein declared put away the scruple of there timorous myndes, and animat and incourage them out of doubt. It may therefore like your most abundant Grace, (our most gratious Kinge) to give to all your Commons here assembled your most gratious license and pardon freely, without doubt of your dreadfull displeasure, every man to discharge his conscience, and bouldly in every thinge incident among, declare his advise, and what soever happneth any man to say, it may like your noble Majestie of your inestimable goodnesse to take all in good part, interpretinge every man's words, how uncunningly soever they be couched, to proceed yeat of a good zeale towardes the profitt of your Realme and honour of your Royall person, the prosperous estate and preservation whereof (most excellent Sovaraigne) is the thing which we all your most humble loving subjectes, accordinge to the most bounden duty of our naturall Allegiance, most highly desire and pray for." At this Parliament Cardinall Wolsey found himself much greeved with the Burgesses thereof, for that nothing was so soone done or spoken therein, but that it was immediatly blowne abroad in every Alehouse. It fortuned at that Parliament a very great subsidie to be demaunded, which the Cardinall fearing it would not passe the common house, determined for the furtheraunce thereof, to be there present himself; before whose comminge after longe debating there, whether it were better but with a few of his Lordes (as the most opinion of the house was) or with a whole trayne royally to receave him there amongst them, "Maisters," quoth Sir Thomas Moore, "for asmuch as my Lord Cardinall latelie, you note well, laied to our charge the lightnes of our toungs for thinges uttered out of this house,

it shall not be amisse in my mynd to receave him with all his pompe, with his maces, his pillars, his pollaxes, his crosses, his hatt, and great seale to; to the intent that if he finde the like fault with us hereafter, we may be the boulder from our selves to lay the blame upon those that his Grace bringeth with him." Whereunto the house wholly agreeinge, he was receaved accordingly. Where after he had in a solemne oration by many reasons proved how necessary it was the demandes there moved to be granted, and furthere sayed that lesse would not serve the Kinge's purpose; he seeinge the companie still silent, and thereunto nothinge answereinge, and contrary to his expectation shewinge in them selves towardes his requests no towardnesse of Inclination, sayd unto them: "Masters, ye have many wise and learned men amonge you, and seeth I ame from the King's owne person sent hither unto you for the preservation of your selves and all the Realme, I thinke it meete you give me a reasonable answere." Whereat every man houldinge his peace, then began he to speake to one Mr Marney, who makinge him no answere nether, he severally asked the same Question of divers others accounted the wisest of the company. To whome when none of them all would give so much as one word, beinge before agreed, as the custom was, by there speaker to make answere: "Masters," quoth the Cardinall, "unlesse it be the manner of your house (as of likelihood it is) in such causes to utter your myndes by the mouth of your speaker, whome yee have chosen for trustie and wise (as indeed he is) here [is] without doubt a marveolus obstinat silence;" and thereupon required the answere of Mr Speaker, who reverently upon his knees excusing the silence of the house, abashed at the presence of so noble a personage, able to amaze the wisest and best learn'd in a Realme, and after by many reasons provinge, that for them to make answere was it nether expedient, nor agreeable with the ancient libertie of the house; in conclusion for himself shewed, that though they had all with there voyces trusted him, yeat except every of them could put into his owne head all there severall wittes, he alone in so waightie a matter was unmeete to make his Grace answere. Whereupon the Cardinall

displeased with Sir Thomas Moore, that had not in this Parliament in all things satisfied his desire, sodenly arose and departed: and after the Parliament ended, uttered unto him all his greefes, sayinge, "Would to God you had beene at Roome, Mr Moore, when I made you Speaker." "Your Grace not offended, so would I too, my Lord," quoth he, and to wind such quarrells out of the Cardinall's head, he began to talke of that Gallerie at Hampton Court, wherewith so wisly brake he off the Cardinall's displeasaunt talke, the Cardinall at that present, as it seemed, wist not what more to say to him, but for Revengment of his displeasure councelled the Kinge to send him Embassador into Spaine, commendinge unto his Heighnes his wisdome, learninge, and meetnes for that voyag, and the difficultie of the cause considered, none was there so well able, he sayd, to serve his Grace therein. Which when the King had broken to Sir Thomas Moore, and that he had declared unto his Grace, how unfitt a Jorney it was for him, the nature of the Countrie and disposition of his complection so disagreeinge togither, that he should never be likely to do his Grace acceptable service therin, knowinge right well that if his Grace sent him thither, he should send him to his grave; but shewinge him selfe neverthelesse readie according to his dutie, allbeit with the losse of his lyfe, to fulfill his Grace's pleasure therein, the King allowinge well his answere, sayd unto him, "It is not our meaninge, Mr Moore, to do you hurt, but to do you good we would be glad. We therefore for this purpose will devise upon some other, and imploy your service otherwise." And such entire favour did the Kinge beare him, that he made him Chauncelor of the Duchie of Lancaster, upon the death of Sr. Richard Winfeild, who had that office before. And for the pleasure he tooke in his Companie, would his Grace sodenly somtymes come home to his house at Chelsie to be merry with him, whithere on a tyme unlooked for he came to dinner, and after dinner in a faire garden of his walked with him by the space of an howre houldinge his arme about his neck. As soone as his Grace was gone, I rejoycinge, tould Sr. Thomas Moore, how happie he was, whome the King had

so familiarly entertayned, as I had never seene him do to any before, except Cardinall Wolsey, whome I saw his Grace once walk with arme in arme. "I thank our Lord (sonne") quoth he, "I find his Grace my very good Lord in deed, and I do beleive he doth as singularly favour me as any subject within this Realme. Howbeit (sonne Roper) I may tell thee, I have no cause to be prowde thereof. For yf my head would winne him a Castle in Fraunce (for then there was wars betweene us) yt should not fayle to go." This Sr. Thomas More, amonge all other his vertues, was of such meekenes, that if it had fortuned him with any learned man resortinge to him from Oxford, Cambridg, or elswhere, as there did diveres, some for the desire of his accquaintaunce, some for the famous reporte of his learninge and wisdome, and some for suites of the Universities, to have entred into argument, wherein few were comparable to him, and so far to have discoursed with them therein, that he might perceive the[y] could not, without some inconvenience, hould out much further disputation against him: then, least he should discomfort them, as he that sought not his owne glory, but rather would seeme conquered then to discourage students in there studies, ever shewinge himselfe more desierous to learne then to teach, would he by some wittie devise courteously breake off into some other matters and give over. Of whome for his wisedome and learninge had the King such an opinion, that at such tyme as he attended upon his Heighnes, takinge his progresse ether to Oxford or Cambridge, where he was received with very eloquent orations, his Grace would allwayes assigne him (as one that was most prompt and readie therein) *ex tempore* to make answere thereunto; whose manner was, whensoever he had any occasion, ether here or beyound the sea to be in any Universitie, not only to be present at the readinge and disputations there commenly used, but also learnedly to dispute among them himselfe. Who beinge Chauncellor of the Duchie, was made Embassador twise; joyned in Commission with Cardinall Wolsey once to the Emperor Charles into Flaunders, the other tyme to the French King into Fraunce. Not long after this

the Watter baylife of London (sometyme his servaunte) hereing, where he had beene at dinner, certayne Marchantes liberally to rayle against his ould Master, waxed so discontented therewith, that he hastilie came to him, and tould him what he had hard: "and were I Sir" (quoth he) "in such favour and authoritie with my Prince as you are, such men surely should not be suffered so villanously and falsly to misreport and slander me. Wherefore I would wish you to call them before you, and, to there shame, for there lewde malice to punnish them." Who smilinge upon him sayde, "Mr. Water Baylie, would you have me punnish them by whome I receave more benefitt then by you all that be my frendes? Lett them a God's name speake as lewdly as they list of me, and shoote never soe many arrowes at me, so longe as they do not hitt me, what am I the worse? But if the[y] should once hitt me, then would it a litle trouble me: howbeit, I trust, by Gode's helpe, there shall none of them all be able once to touch me. I have more cause, Mr. Water Bayly (I assure thee) to pittie them, then to be angrie with them." Such frutfull communication had he often tymes with his familier frendes. Soe on a tyme walking a long the Thames syde with me at Chelsey, in talkinge of other thinges, he sayd to me, "Now would to God, Sonne Roper, upon condition three things were well established in Christendome, I were put in a sacke, and here presently cast into the Thames." "What great thinges be these, Sir," quoth I, "that should move you so to wish?" "Wouldest thou know, sonne Roper, what they be," quoth he? "Yea marry, Sir, with a good will if it please you," quoth I. "I faith, they be these, Sonne," quoth he. "The first is, that where as the most part of Christian princes be at mortall warrs, they weare at universal peace. The second, that wheare the Church of Christ is at this present soare afflicted with many heresies and errors, it were well settled in an uniformity of Religion. The third, that where the Kinge's matter of his marriage is now come into question, it were to the glory of God and quietnesse of all parties brought to a good conclusion:" where by, as I could gather, he judged, that other-

wise it would be a disturbaunce to a great part of Christendome. Thus did it by his doinges throughout the whole course of his life appeare, that all his travells and paynes, without respect of earthly commodities, ether to himself or any of his, were only upon the service of God, the Prince and the Realme, wholy bestowed and imployed; whom in his latter tyme I hard to say, that he never asked of the Kinge himself the vallew of one penny. As Sr. Thomas Moore's custome was daylie, if he weare at home, besides his private prayers with his children, to say the seaven Psalmes, Litanie and Suffrages followinge, was his guyse nightly, before he went to bedd, with his Wife, Children, and houshould to go to his Chappell, and there upon his knees ordinarily to saye certaine Psalmes and Collects with them: and because he was desirous for godlie purposes some tyme to be solitary, and sequester himself from worldlie companie; a good distance from his mansion house buylded he a place, called the new buyldinge, wherin was a Chappell, a Library and a Gallerie, in which as his use was upon other dayes to occupie himself in prayer and studie to gither, soe on the Fridayes there usually continued he from morninge untill eveninge, spendinge his tyme duly in devout Prayers, and spirituall exercises; and to provoke his Wife and Children to the desire of heavenly thinges, he would sometymes use these wordes unto them. "It is now no maystrie for you Children to goe to heaven. For every bodie giveth you good counsell, every bodie giveth you good example. You see vertue rewarded, and vice punnished, so that you are carried up to heaven even by the Chinnes. But if you live in the tyme, that no man will give you good Counsell, nor no man will give you good Example, when you shall see vertue punnished, and vice rewarded, if you will then stand fast, and firmely sticke to God upon payne of lyfe, if you be but halfe good, God will allow you for whole good." If his wife or any of his children had beene diseased, or troubled, he would say to them, "We may not looke at our pleasure to go to heaven in fether beddes, it is not the way. For our Lord himselfe went thither with grete payne, and by many tribulations, which is the path wherin he

walkd thither, and the servaunt may not looke to be in better case then his Master." And as he would in this sort perswad them to take there troubles patiently, so would he in like case teach them to withstand the Divill and his temptations, valiantly sainge, "Whosoever will marke the Devill and his temptations shall find him therein much like to an Ape. For as an Ape not well looked too will be busie and bould to doe shrewd tournes, and contrary wise beinge spyed will soddenly leape back and adventure no farther: soe the Devill seeinge a man idle, slothfull, and without resistaunce readie to receave his temptations, waxeth soe hardie that he will not fayle still to continue with him, untill to his purpose he hath brought him: but on the othersyd, if he see a man with diligence present to prevent and withstand his temptationes, he waxeth so weary, that in conclusion he forsaketh him. For as [much as] the Devill by disposition is a spirit of nature soe envious, that he feareth any more to assalt him, least that he should thereby not onely catch a foule faule himself, but also minister to the man more matter of merite." Thus delighted he evermore not only in vertuous exercises to be occupied himselfe, but also to exhort his Wif, and Children, and househould to imbrace and follow the same. To whome for his notable vertue and godlinesse God shewed, as he seemed, a manifest miraculous token of his speciall favour towardes him, at such tyme as my wife (as many others that yeare were) was sicke of the sweatinge sicknes, who lyinge in soe great extremitie of that disease, as by no invention or devises, that Phisitians in such case commenly use (of whom she had diverse, both expert, wise and well learned, then continually attendant upon her) shee could be kept from sleep: so that both phisitians, and all others despayred her health, and recovery and gave her over: her father (as he that most entirely tendered her) beinge in no small heavines for her, by prayer at God his handes sought to gett remedie, where upon after his usuall manner going up into his new lodginge, there in his Chapell upon his knees with teares most devoutly besought Almightie God, that it would like his goodness, unto whom nothinge was impossible, if it were his blessed will, at his mediation to

vouchesafe gratiously to here his petition; where incontinent came into his minde, that a glister shoulde be the only way to helpe her, which when he had tould the phisitians, they by and by confessed, that if there were any hope of health, that it was the very best helpe indeed, much marvellinge of them selves, that they had not afore remembered it. Then it was immediatly ministred unto her sleepinge, which shee could by no meanes have beene brought unto wakinge, and albeit after she was thereby throughly awaked God's markes, evident undoubted token of Death, playnely appeared upon her, yet shee (contrary to all there expectation) was (as it was thought) by her Father's fervent prayer miraculously recovered, and at length againe to perfecte health restored, whom if it had pleased God at that tyme to have taken to his mercy, her father sayd he would never have medled with worldly matters after. Now while Sir Thomas Moore was Chauncelor of the Duchie, the See of Rome chaunced to be voyd, which was cause of much trouble. For Cardinall Woulsie, a man very ambitious, and desirous (as good hope, and likelyhood he had) to aspire unto that dignitie, percevinge himselfe of his expectation disapoynted by meanes of the Emperor Charles, soe heighly commendinge one Cardinal Adrian, sometym his Schoolmaster, to the Cardinalls of Rome, in the tyme of their Election for his vertue and worthiness, that thereupon was he chosen Pope, who from Spaine (where he was then resident) comminge on foote to Rome, before his entrie into that Cittie did put off his hose and shooes, barefooted and barelegged passeinge through the streetes towardes his Pallace with such humbleness, that all the people had him in great reverence. Cardinall Wolsey waxed soe wooe therewith, that he studied to invent allwayes of revengement of his greefe against the Emperour, which as it was the beginninge of a lamentable tragedie, soe some parte thereof not impertinent to my present purpose I reckned requisite here to put in remembraunce. This Cardinall therefore, not ignorant of the Kinge's unconstant and mutable disposition, soone inclined to withdraw his devotion from his owne most noble and verteous wife Queene

Katherene, Aunt to the Emperour, upon every light occasion; and upon other, to her in nobilitie, wisdome, vertu, favour, and beauty farre incomparable, to fixe his affection, meaninge to make his soe light disposition an instrument to bringe about this his ungod[l]y intent, devised to allure the Kinge (then allreadie contrary to his mynd nothinge lesse lookinge for [than] fallinge in love with the Ladie Ann Bullen) to cast fauncie to one of the French Sisters, which thinge, because of enmitie and warre was at that tyme betweene the French Kinge and the Emperour (whome, for the cause afore remembred, he mortally maligned) he was desirous to procure, and for the better atchivinge therof requested Langland Bishopp of Lincolne, and ghostly father to the Kinge, to put a scruple into the King's head, that it was not lawfull for him to marry his brother's wif; which the Kinge not sory to heare of, opned it first to Sir Thomas Moore, whose councell he required therin, shewing him certaine places of Scripture, that somewhat seemed to serve his appetite, which when he had perused, and thereupon, as one that never had professed the studie of Divinitie him selfe, excused to be unmeete many wayes to medle with such matters; the Kinge, not satisfyed with this answere, soe sore still pressed upon him, therefore, in conclusion, he condescended to his grace his motion, and farther, that the matter was of such importaunce as needed good advise and deliberation, he besough[t] his grace of sufficiente respect advised[ly] to consider of it; wherewith the Kinge well contented sayd unto him; Tunstall and Clerke, Bishopps of Durham and Bath, with othere learned of his privie Councell should also be dealers therein. Soe Sir Thomas Moore departinge, conferred those places of Scripture with the exposition of divers of the ould holy doctors, and at his comminge to the Court, in talkinge with his Grace of the fore sayd matter, he sayd, "To be playne with your Grace, neither my Lord of Durham, nor my Lord of Bath, though I know them both to be wise, verteous, and learned, and honorable prellattes, nor my selfe with the rest of your Councell, beinge all your Graces owne servauntes, for your manifould benefittes daylie bestowed on us, so most bounden

unto you, be in my judgement meete Councellours for your Grace herein; but if your Grace mindes to understand the truth, such Councellors may you have devised, as nether for respect of there owne worldlie commodite, nor for feare of your princ[e]ly authoritie, wil be inclined to deceave you."

To whom he named St Jerome, St Augustine, and divers other holy doctors, both Greekes and Latines: and moreover shewed him, what authoritie he had gathered out of them, which although the King did not very well like of, (as disagreeable to his Grace's desire,) yet were they by Sir Thomas More, (who in all his communication with the King in that matter had allwayes most wisly beheaved himselfe) soe wisly tempered, that he both presently tooke them in good parte, and often tymes had thereof conference with him againe. After this were there certayne Questions proposed amonge his Councell, whether the Kinge needed, in this Case, to have any scruple at all, and if he had, what way were best to deliver him of it? the most parte of whom were of the opinion, that there was good cause, and that, for discharginge of it, suite were meete to be made to the See of Roome, where the Kinge hopinge by liberalitie to obtayne his purpose, wherin (as after it appeared) he was farr deceaved, then was there, for the triall and examination of this matrimonie, procured from Roome a Commission, in which Cardinall Campegines and Cardinall Woolsey were joyned Commissioners, who, for the determination thereof, satte at the Blacke Fryers in London. Where a libell was put in for the admittinge of the said Matrimonie, alleaginge the said marriage betweene the Kinge and the Queene to be unlawfull, and, for proofe of the marriage to be lawfull, was there brought in a dispensation; in which, after divers Disputations thereupon houlden, there appeared an imperfection, which by an instrument or breefe, upon search found in the treasurie of Spaine, and sent to the Commissioners into England, was supplied, and soe should judgment have beene given by the Pope accordinglie, had not the Kinge, uppon intelligence thereof, before the same judgment appealed to the next generall Councell. After whose appellation the Cardinall upon that matter satte no longer. Yt

fortuned before the matter of the sayde matrimonie brought in question, when I, in talke with Sir Thomas Moore, of a certaine joy comme[n]ded unto him the happie estate of this realme, that had soe Catholicke a Prince, that no hereticke durst shew his face, soe verteous and learned a Clergie, soe grave and sound a Nobilitie, soe lovinge and obedient subjects, all in one faith agreeinge togither: "True it is indeed (sonne Roper)" quoth he, and in commendinge all degrees and estats of the same went farr beyound me, "and yet (sonne Roper) I pray God," said he, "that some of us, as heigh as we seeme to sitt upon the mountaines, treadinge heretickes under our feete like aunts, live not the day, that we gladly would wish to be at leagge and composition with them, to lett them have there Churches quietly to themselves; soe that they would be content to lett us have ours quietly to our selves." After that I had tould him many considerations, why he had no cause to say so, "Well, well," sayd he, "I pray God (sonne Roper) some of us live not till that day," shewinge me no reason whie I should put any doubt therin. To whom I sayd, "By my troth, Sir, it is verie desperatly spoken," that vile terme (I cry God mercy) did I give him, who by these wordes perseavinge me in a fume, sayd merilie unto me, "Well, sonne Roper, it shall not be so, it shall not be so." Whom in sixteene yeares and more, beinge in his house conversaunt with him, I could never perceave him soe much as once to fume. But now to returne againe where I left: After suppliinge of imperfections of the dispensation sent (as before is rehersed) to the Commissioners into England, the Kinge taking the matter for ended, and then meaninge no farther to proceed in that matter, assigned the Bishopp of Durham, and Sir Thomas Moore to go Embassadors to Camerie, a place nether Emperiall nor French, to treate a peace betweene the French Kinge, the Emperor, and him, in the concludinge whereof Sir Thomas Moore soe worthilie handled him selfe, (procuringe in our league far more benefitts unto his Realme, then at that tyme by the King and Councell was possible to be compassed) that for his good servic[e] in that voyage, the King, when he after mad him Lord Chauncellor, caused the

Duke of Norfolke openly to declare unto the people (as you shall here hereafter more at large) how much all England was bound unto him. Now, upon the comminge home of the Bishopp of Durham and Sir Thomas More from Camerie, the King was as earnest in perswading Sir Thomas More to agree unto the matter of his marriage as before, by many and divers wayes provokinge him thereunto. For which cause (as it was thought) he the rather soone after made him Lord Chauncellor, and farther declared unto him, that though at his goinge over the sea to Camerie, he was in utter despaire thereof, yet he had conceaved since some good hope to compasse it. For albeit his marriage, beinge against the positive Law of the Church, and the written Law of God, was holpen by the dispensation, yet was there an other thing found out of late, he sayd, whereby his Marriage appeared to be so directly against the lawes of nature, that it could in no wise by the Church be dispensable, as Dr Stoksely (whom he had then newly preferred to be Bishopp of London, and in that case cheefly credited) was able to instruct him, with whom he prayed him in that point to conferr. But for all his conference with him, he saw nothing of such force, as could induce him to chaunge his opinion therein; which notwithstanding the Bishopp shewed himselfe in his report of him to the King's highnes soe good and favorable, that he sayd, he found him in his Grace's cause very toward, and desirous to find some good matter wherewith he might truly serve his Grace to his contentation. This Bishopp of Stoksley being by the Cardinall not longe before in the Starr Chamber openly put to rebuke, and awarded to the Fleete, not brookinge his contumelious usage, and thinkinge, that forasmuch as the Cardinall, for lacke of such forwardnes in setting first the King's devorse as his Grace looked for, was out of his Heighnes favour, he had now a good occasion offered him to reveng[e] his quarell against him, fa[r]ther to incense the King's displeasure towardes him, busily travelled to invent some coulerable devise for the King's furtheraunce in that behalfe. Which (as before is mentioned) he to his Grace revealed, hopeinge therby to bringe the King to the better lykeinge of himselfe,

and the more misliking of the Cardinall. His Highnes therefore [was] soone after of his office displaced, and to Sir Thomas More (the rather to move him to incline to his syde) the same in his steede committed. Who betweene Dukes of Norfolke and Suffolke beinge brought thorough Westminster Hall to his place in the Chauncerye, the Duke of Norfolke, in audience of all the people there assembled, shewed, that he was from the Kinge himselfe streigh[t]ly charged by special commission there openly, in the presence of all, to make declaration, how much all Englande was behoulden to Sir Thomas Moore for his good service, and how worthie he was to have the heighest roome in the Realme, and how dearly his Grace loved and trusted him; for which, sayd the Duke, he had grete cause to rejoyce. Whereunto Sir Thomas Moore, amonge many other his humble and wise sayings (not now in my memory) answered, "That although he had good cause to rejoyce of his Heighnes singular favour towardes him, that he had farr above his deserts soe heighly commended him, yete nevertheles he must for his owne parte needes confesse, that in all things by his Grace alleadged he had done no more then was his duety. And further disabled him selfe as unmeete for that roome, wherein, consideringe how wise and honorable a prelate had lately before taken soe grete a falle, he had," he sayed, "thereof no cause to rejoyce." And as they on the King's behalfe charged him uprightly to minister indifferent justice to the people without corruption or affection, so did he likewise charge them againe, that if they saw him at any tyme in any thinge digresse from any part of his dutie, in that honorable office, then, as they would discharge there owne duty and fidelitie to God and the Kinge, soe should they not fayle to disclose it to his Grace, who otherwise might have just occasion to lay his fault wholy to there charge. While he was Lord Chauncellor (beinge at leasure, as seldom he was) one of his soonnes in Law on a tyme saide merrilie unto him, "When Cardinall Wolsey was Lord Chauncellor, not onely divers of his privie chamber, but such also as were his doer keepers gott greate gaine, and since he had married one of his daughters, and gave still attendaunce upon him, he thought he

might of reasone looke for somwhat, where he indeed, because he was reddie himselfe to heare every man, poore and rich, and keepe noe doores shutt from them, could finde none, which was to him a great discouragement. And whereas else some for frendshipp, some for kindred, and some for proffitt, would gladly have his furtheraunce in bringinge them to his presence, if he should now take any thinge of them he knew," (he sayd) "he should do them grete wrong, for that they might doe as much for themselves, as he could doe for them: which condicion although he thought in Sir Thomas Moore very commendable, yeate to him" (sayd he) "beinge his soonne he found it nothinge profitable." When he had tould him this tale, "You say well, sonne," (quoth he) "I do not mislike that you are of conscience soe scrupelous, but many other wayes be there (sonne) that I may doe both your self good, and pleasure your frend alsoe. For some tymes may I in wordes stand your frend in steede, and some tyme maye I by my letter help you and him, or if he have a cause dependinge before me, at your request I maye here him before an other, or if his cause be not all the best, yeate may I move the parties to falle to some reasonable end by arbitrement; how be it, this one thinge I assure thee on my fayth, that if the parties will at my hand call for Justice, then were it my father stood on the one syde, and the devill on the other syde (his cause beinge good) the devill should have right. Soe offered he his sonne (as he thought" he sayd) "as much favour as with reason he could require." And that he would for no respect digresse from Justice well appeared by a playne example of an other of his sonnes in Law Mr Hearon. For when he, havinge a matter before him in the Chauncery, presuminge to much of his favour, would by him in no wise be perswaded to agree to any indifferent order, then made he in conclusion a flatt decree against him. This Lord Chauncellor used commenly every after noone to sitt in his open Hall, to the intent, if any person had any suit unto him, they might the more bouldly come to his presence, and there open complaints before him. Whose manner was also to reade every bill himselfe, e're he would award any Subpœna, which bearinge matter

sufficient worthie a Subpœna, would he sett his hand unto, or els cancell it. Whensoever he passad through Westm: Hall to his place in the Chauncerie by the Court of the King's Bench, if his father, one of the Judges there, had beene satt e're he came he would goe into the same Court, and there reverently kneelinge downe in the sight of them all duely aske his Father's blessinge. And if it fortuned that his Father and he at readinges in Lincolne's Inn mett togither (as they sometyme did) notwithstandinge his heigh office he would offer in argument the preheminence to his Father, though he for his office sake would refuse to take it. And for the better declaration of his naturall affection towards his Father, he not onely (when he lay on his death bedd) accordinge to his duty oft tymes with comfortable wordes most kindly came to visit him; but also at his departure out of this world, with teares takinge him about the neck, most lovingly kissed and imbraced him, comme[n]dinge into the mercifull hands of almightie God, and soe departed from him. And as few Injunctions as he graunted while he was Lord Chauncellor, yeet were the[y] by some of the Judges of the Law misliked, which I understandinge, declared the same unto Sir Thomas Moore, who answered me, that they have litle cause to find fault with him therefore. And thereupon caused he one Mr Crooke, cheefe of the six Clarkes, to make a Dockett, contayninge the whole number and causes of all such Injunctions, as ether in his tyme had alreadie passed, or at that present tyme depended in any of the Kinge's Courts at Westminster before him. Which done he invited all the Judges to dinner with him in the Councell Chamber at Westminster, where after dinner when he had broken with them what complaints he had hard of his Injunctions, and moreover shewed them both the number and causes of every of them in order soe plainely, that, upon full debatinge of those matters, they were all inforced to confess, that they, in like case, could have done no otherwise themselves, then offered he this unto them, that if the Justices of every Court, unto whome the reformation of rigor of the Law, by reason of there office, most specially appertained, would, upon reasonable considerations, by there owne discre-

tions (as they were, as he thought, in conscience bound) mittigate and reforme the rigor of the Law themselves, there should from thenceforth by him no more Injunctions be graunted. Whereupon when they refused to condiscend, then sayd he unto them: "Forasmuch as your selves, my Lords, drive me to that necessitie for awardinge out Injunctions to relive the peopl's injurie, you cannot here after any more justly blame me;" after that he had sayd secretly unto me: "I perceave, sonne, whic they like not soe to doe. For they see, that they may, by the verdict of the Jurie, cast off all quarrells from themselves upon them, which they account there cheife defence, and therefore am I compelled to abide the adventure of all such reportes." And as little leasure as he had to be occupied in the studie of Holy Scripturs, and controversies upon religion, and such other like verteous exercises, beinge in manner continually busied about the affaires of the Kinge and the Realme, yeat such watch and paine in settinge fourth of divers profitable workes in defence of the true Catholicke religion against heresies, secretly sowen abroad in the Realme, assuredlie sustained he, that the Bishopps, to whose pastorall cure the reformation thereof principally appartayn'de, thinkinge themselves by his travell (wherein, by there owne confession, with him they were not able to make comparison) of there dutie discharged, and consideringe that, for all his paynes, and prince's favour, he was no rich man, nor in yearly revenues advaunced as his worthines deserved, therefore at a convocation among themselves and other of the Clargie, they agreed togither, and concluded upon a summe of 4 or 5 thousand powནds at the least (to my remembraunce) for his paynes to recompence him. To the payment whereof every Bushopp, Abbot, and the rest of the Clergie were after the rate of there abilities liberall contributaries, hopeinge this portion should be to his contentation. Whereupon Tunstall Bishopp of Durham, Clerke Bishopp of Bath, and (as far as I can call to mynd) Vaysie Bishopp of Exeter, repayred unto him, declaring how thankefully for his travells to there discharge in God's cause bestowed, they reckned themselves bound to consider him. *And that* albeit they could not accordinge to

his deserts soe worthilie as they gladly would requite him therefore, but reserve that only to the goodnesse of God, yet for a smale part of reccompence, in respect of his estate, so unequall to his worthines, in the name of there whole convocation, they presented unto him that summe, which they desired him to take in good parte, who forsakinge it, said, "That like as it were no smale comforte unto him, that soe wise and learned men soe well accepted his simple doinge, for which he intended never to receave reward but at the handes of God only, to whome alone was thanks therof cheiflie to be ascribed: so gave he most humble thankes unto there honors all for there bountifull consideration." When they for all there importune pressinge upon him, that fewe would have went he could have refused it, could by noe meanes make him to take it, then they besought him be content, yeat that they might bestow it upon his Wif and Children; "Not soe, my Lords," (quoth he) "I had liver see it all cast into the Thames, then I, or any of myne should have thereof the worth of one pennie. For though your offer, my Lords, be indeed very frendlie and honorable, yet sett I soe much by my pleasure, and soe litle by my profitt, that I would not (in good faith) for so much, and much more to have lost the rest of so many a night's sleepe, as was spent upon the same. And yeat wish I would, for all that, upon conditions that all heresies were suppressed, that all my books were burned, and my labour utterlie lost." Thus departinge, were they faine to restore to everie man his owne againe. This Lord Chauncellor albeit he was to God and the World well knowne of notable vertue, though not soe of every man considered, yet for the avoydance of singularitie would he appeare no otherwise then other men in his apparell and other outward behaviour. And albeit he appeared honorable outwardlie, and lyke one of his callinge, yet inwardly he no such vanities esteeminge, secretly next his bodie ware a shirt of haire, which my sister Moore, a young Gentlewoman in the sommer, as he satt at supper singly in his dublatt and hose, wearinge thereupon a plaine shirt without Ruff or Collar, chauncinge to espie, begann to laugh at it. My Wif not ignoraunt of his manner, perceavinge

the same privilie tould him of it, and he beinge sorye that she saw it, presently amended it. He used also some tymes to punnish his boddie with whipps, the cordes knotted, which was knowne only to my wife his eldest daughter, whome for her secresie above all other he specially trusted, caused her, as need required, to wash the same shirt of haire. Now shortly upon his entrie into the high office of the Chauncellorshipp, the Kinge eftsonnes againe moved hime to waye and consider his gretest matter, who fallinge downe upon his knees, humblie besought his Highnes to stand his gratious Soveraigne, as ever since his entrie into his gratious service he had found him, sayinge, "There was nothinge in the world had beene so greevous to his hart, as to remember he was not able, as he willingly would with the losse of one of his limmes, for that matter to find any thinge whereby he could serve his Grace's contentment, as he that alwayes bare in mind the most godlie words, that his Highnes spake unto him at his first comminge into his noble service, the most verteous lesson that ever Prince taught his servaunt, willinge him first to looke unto God, and after God to him, as in good faith," he said, "he did, or els might his Grace well accompt him his most unworthie servaunt. To this the Kinge answered, "that if he could not with his conscience serve him, he was content to accept his service otherwise, and use the advice of other his learned Councell, whose consciences could well inough agree thereto, he would nevertheless continue his gratious favour towardes him, and never with that matter molest his conscience after." But Sir Thomas Moore in processe of tyme seeinge the King fully determined to proceed forth in the Marriage of Queene Ann, and when he with the Bishopps and Nobles of the higher house of Parliament, were, for the furtheraunce of that marriage, commaunded by the Kinge to go downe to the common house to shew to them both what the Universities as well of ether partes beyound the seas, as at Oxford and Cambridge had downe in that behalfe, and there seales also testifiinge the same: all which matters, at the King's request, (not shewinge of what mind himselfe was therin) he opened to the lower

house of the Parliament: nevertheless doubting least farther attempts should after follow, which, contrarie to his conscience, by reason of his office he was likly to be put unto, he made suite to the Duke of Norfolke, his singular deare frend, to be a meane to the Kinge, that he might, with his Grace's favour, be discharged of that chargeable Roome of Chauncellorship, wherein for certaine infirmities of his bodie, he pretended himselfe unable any longer to serve. This Duke comminge on a tyme to Chelsey to dine with him, fortuned to find him at Church singinge in the quiere with a surplas on his backe; to whome after service, as the[y] went home togither arme in arme, the Duke said, "God body, God body (my Ld. Chauncellor) a parish Clarke, a parish Clarke, you dishonour the King and his office." "Ney," quoth Sir Thomas Moore smilinge upon the Duke, "your Grace may not thinke, that the Kinge your Master and myne, will with me for serving God his Master be offended, or thereby count his office dishonoured." When the Duke, beinge thereunto solicited by importunat suite, had at length obtayned for Sir Thomas Moore a cleere discharg of his office, then at a tyme convenient, by his Highnes appoyntment, repaired he to his Grace, to yeld up unto him the great seale, which, as his Grace with thanks and praise for his worthie service in that office courteously at his hands receaved, so pleased it his Highnes to say more unto him, that for the good service he before had done him in any suite which he should after have unto him, that either should concerne his honour (for that word it liked his Highnes to use unto him) or that should appertaine unto his profitt, he would find his Heighnes a good and gratious Lord unto him. After he had thus given over his Chauncellorship, and placed all his gentlemen and yeomen with Bishopps and Noble men, and his eight watermen with the Lord Audly, that after in the same office succeed[ed] him to whome also he gave his grete Barge, then callinge us that were his Children unto him, and askinge our advice, how we might now, in this decaie of his abilitie, by the surrender of his office soe impaired, that he could not, as he was wont, and gladly would beare out the whole Charges of them all himselfe, from hence-

forth be able to live and continue togeather, as he wished we should, when he saw us all silent, and in that case not readie to shew our opinions unto him, "Then will I" (said he) "shew my poore minde unto you. I have beene brought up at Oxford, at an Inn of Chauncerie, at Lincolne's Inn, and in the King's Court, so forth from the lowest degree to the highest, and yete have I in yearely revenues litle more then one hundred pownds by the yeare at this present left me. So that we must hereafter, yf wee like to live togeather. But by my councell it shall not be best for us to falle to the lowest fare first. We will not therefore descend to Oxforde fare, nor to the fare of New Inn, but we will beginne with Lincolne's Inn diet, where manie right worshipfull and of good yeares doe live full well, which if we finde not our selves the first yeare able to ma[in]tayne, then will wee the next yeare after go one stepp downe to New Inn fare, wherewith many an honest man is well contented. If that exceed our abilitie too, then will we the next yeare after descend to Oxford fare, where many grave, anciente, and learned Fathers be conversaunt continually, which if our abilitie stretch not to mantaine neither, then may wee yeat with bagges and walletts goe a bagginge togither, and hopinge that for pittie some good folkes will give theire Charitie at every man's dore to singe *salve Regina*, and soe still keepe companie merrily togither." And whereas you have hard before he was by the Kinge from a very worshipfull livinge taken unto his Grace's service, with whome in all the greate and waightie causes that concerned his Highnes, or the Realme, he consumed and spent with painefull cares, travell and trouble as well beyound the seas, as within the Realme, in effect the whole substance of his life, yeat with all the gaine he gott thereby (beinge never noe wastfull spender thereof) was he not able, after the resignation of his office of the Lord Chauncellor, for the mainten[a]nce of him selfe, and such as necessarily belonged unto him, sufficiently to find meat, drinke, fuell, apparell, and such other necessarie charges. All the Land that ever he purchased before he was Lord Chauncellor, was not, I am well assured, above the value of xx^{tie} markes by the yeare, and after his debts payed he had not I know (his

chaine excepted) in gould and silver left him the worth of one hundred pownds. And whereas upon the holidayes, duringe high Chauncellorshipp, one of his gentlemen, when service at the Church was downe, ordinarilie used to come to my Ladie, his wife's pue, and say, "Madam, my Lord is gone," the next holiday after the surrender of his office, and departure of his gentlemen he came unto my Ladie, his wif's pue himselfe, and makinge a low curtesie, sayd unto her, "Madam, my Lord is gone." In the tyme somewhat before his trouble, he would talke with his Wife and Children of the joyes of Heaven and the paines of Hell, of the lives of holy Martiers, and of theire greevous Martirdome, of there marveilous patience, and of theire passiones and deaths, that they suffered rather then they would offend God, and what an happie and a blessed thinge it was for the love of God to suffer losse of goods, imprisonment, losse of Lands, and life allso. He would farther say unto them, that upon his faith if he might perceave his Wife and Children would incourage him to die in a good cause, it should so comforte him, that for very joy thereof it would make him merily to runne to death. He shewed them afore what trouble might fall unto him, wherewith, and the like verteous talke he had soe longe before his trouble encouraged them, that when he after fell in the trouble indeed, his trouble to him was a great deale the lesse, *quia spicula prævisa minus lædunt.* Now upon this resignment of his office came Sir Thomas Cromwell (then in the King's high favour) to Chelsey to him on a message from the Kinge, wherin when they had throughly communed togeather, "Mr. Cromwell" (quoth he) "you are now entered into the service of a most noble, wise, and liberall Prince; if you will follow my poore advice, you shall, in Counsell givinge unto his Grace, ever tell him what he ought to doe, but never tell him what he is able to doe, soe shall you shew your selfe a true faithfull servaunt, and a right worthie Councellor. For if the Lyon knew his owne strength, hard were it for anie man to rule him." Shortly there upon was there a commission directed to Cranmer, then Archbishop of Canterbury, to determine the mater of the matrimonie betweene the Kinge and Queene

Katherine at St Albone's, where accordinge to the King's mind that was throughly finished, who pretendinge that he had no justice at the Pope's handes, from thenceforth sequestered himselfe from the See of Rome, and soe married the Ladie Ann Bullen, which Sir Thomas Moore understandinge, sayde unto me, "God give grace, sonne, that these matters within a while be not confirmed with oathes." I at that tyme seeinge no liklyhood thereof, yeat fearinge lest for his forspeakinge that would the sooner come to passe, waxed therefore for his sayinge much offended with him. It fortuned not longe before the comminge of the Queene Anne through the streets of London from the Tower to Westminster to her Coronatione, that he receaved a letter from the Bishops of Durham, Bath, and Winchester, requestinge hime to beare them company from the Tower to the Coronation and also to take xx*ll.* that by the bearer thereof they had sent him to buy him a gowne with, which he thankfully receaved, and at home still taryinge, at there next meetinge sayd merrily unto them, "My Lords, in the letters which you latlye sent me, you required too things of me, the one whereof sith I was so well contented to graunt you, th'other therefore I thought I might be the boulder to deny you."

In continuance when the King saw that he could by noe manner of benefittes winne him to his sid, then went he about by terrours and threates to drive him thereunto, the begininge of which trouble grewe by occasion of a certaine Nunne dwellinge in Canterbery, for her vertue and holines amonge the people not a litle esteemed, unto whom for that cause manie Religious persons, Doctors of Divinitie, and divers other of good worshipp of the Layty used to resort, who affirminge that shee had revelations from God to give the Kinge warninge of his wicked lif, and of the abuses of the sword and authoritie committed to him by God, and understandinge my Ld of Rochester, Bishopp Fisher, to be a man of notable verteous livinge and learninge, repaired to Rochester, and theire disclosed unto him all her revelations, desiringe his advice and councell therin, which the Bishopp perceav-

inge might well stand with the lawes of God and his Church advised here (as shee before had warninge and intended) to go to the Kinge her selfe, and to lett him understand the whole circumstance therof, wherupon she went unto the Kinge, and tould him all her revelations, and returned home againe. And in short space after, shee makinge a voyage to the Nunne of Sion by the means of one Mr. Raynolds a father of that house there fortuned concerninge such secretes as shee had revealed unto her, some part whereof seemed to touch the matter of the King's supremicie, and marriage (which shortly therupon followed) to enter into talke with Sir Thomas Moore; who notwithstanding he might well at that tyme without daunger of any Law (though after, as himselfe had prognosticated before, those matters were established by statutes and confirmed by othes) freely and safely have talked with her therin; neverthelesse, in all the communication betweene them (as in processe of tyme it appeared) had allwayes soe discreetly demeaned himselfe, that he deserved not to be blamed, but contrarie wise to be commended and praised. And had he not beene one that in all his grete office, and doings for the King and Realme togither, had from all corruption of wronge doinge, or bribes taking, kept himselfe so cleare, that no man was able therwith to blemish him, it would without doubt (in this troublesome tyme of the King's wroth and indignation towardes him) have beene deeply layd to his charge, and of the King's Highnes favorably accepted, as in the case of one Parnell that most manifestly appeared: against whom Sir Tho: Moore while he was Ld. Chauncellor, at the suite of one Vaughaun his adversarie had made a decree. This Parnell to the Kinge's Highnes had greevously complayned that Sir Tho. Moore, for making the decree, had of the same Vaughaun (unable for the goute to travell abroad himselfe) by the handes of his wif taken a faire great gilte Cupp for a bribe, who therupon by the King's appoyntment beinge called before the Councell, where that matter was heniously layd to his charge, forthwith confessed, that for asmuch as that Cupp was longe after the aforesaid decree brought unto him for a new yeare's gift, he upon her importunat

pressinge upon him, therfore of courtesie refused not to take it. Then the Lord of Wilshire (for hatred of his Religion preferrer of this suit) with much rejoycinge said unto the Lords, "Loe my Lords, loe, did I not tell you that you should find this matter true?" Where upon Sir Thomas Moore desired there worshipps, that as they had courteously hard him tell the one part of his tale, soe they would vouchsafe of there honours indifferently to here the other, after which obtayned, he further declared unto them, that albeit indeed [he] had with much worke receaved that Cupp, yet immediatly therupon he caused his butler to fill that with wine, and of that Cupp drunke to her, and that when she had pledged him, then as freely as her husband had given it unto him, even soe freely gave he the same unto her againe, to give unto her husband for his new yeare's gift, which at his instant Request, though much against her will, yet at length she was faine to receave, as her self and certaine other there presently deposed before them. Thus was the grete mountaine turned scarse unto a moale hill. So I remember that another tyme on a new yeare's day there came unto him one Mrs. Crocker, a rich widow (for whome with no smale paines he hade mad a decree in the Chauncery against the Ld. of Arandell) to present him with a paire of gloves and 40*l.* in Angells in them for a new yeare's gift, of whom he thankefully receaved the gloves, but refusinge the mony said unto her, "Mrs. since that were against good manne[r]s to forsake a gentle woman's new yeare's gift, I am content to receave your gloves, but as for your money I utterly refuse:" soe much against her minde enforced he her to take her gould againe. And one Mr Gresham likwise having a cause dependinge in the Chauncery against him, sent him for a new yeare's gifte a faire gilted Cupp, the fashione wherof he very well likinge caused one of his owne (though not in his fantisie of soe good a fashion) yet better in valew, to be brought out of his Chamber, which he willed the messenger to deliver to his Mrs. in recompence, and under other conditions would he in no wise receave it. Many things moe of like effect for the declaration of his innocencie and clearnesse from corruption, or evill affection, could I here

rehearse besydes, which for tediousnes omittinge, I referre to the readers by these few fore remembred examples with theire owne Judgments wisly to consider. At this Parliament was there put into the Lords house a bill to attainte the Nunne, and divers other religious persons of high treason; and the Bishopp of Rochester, Sir Thomas Moore, and certaine others of misprision of treason: the King presupposing of likelyhood this bill would be to Sir Tho. Moore so troubleous and terrible, that that would force him to relent and condiscend to his request, wherein his Grace was much deceaved. To which Bill Sir Tho. Moore was a suter personally to be receaved in his owne defence to make answere, but the Kinge not likinge that, assigned the Archbuyshopp of Canterberie, the Ld. Chauncellor, the Duke of Norfolke, and Mr Cromwell, at a day and place appointed to call Sir Tho. Moore before them, at which tyme I thinkinge I had good opportunitie, earnestly advised him to labour unto these Lords for the help of his discharg out of the Parliament Bill; who answered me, he would: and at his comminge before them accordinge to there appointment, they intertained him verie frendly, willinge him to sitt downe with theme, which in noe wise he would. Then begann the Lord Chauncellor to declare unto him how many wayes the King had shewed his love and favour towards him, how faine he would have had him continue in his office, how glad he would have beene to have heaped mo benefitts upon him, and finally, how he could aske no worldlie honour, or profitt at his Highnes hands, that were likely to be denied him; hopinge by the declaration of the King's kindnes and favour towards him to provoke him to recompence his Grace with the like againe, and unto those things that the Parliament, the Bishopps, and Universities had allready passed to yeld his consent. To this Sir Thomas Moore myldly answered sayinge, "No man livinge is ther (my Lords) that would with better will doe the thing that should be acceptable to the King's Highnes then I, which must needes confesse his manifould benefittes, and bountifull goodnes most benignly bestowed on mee. How be it I verily hoped that I should never have hard of this matter more, consideringe that

I have from tyme to tyme allwayes from the begining so plainly and trulie declared my mynd unto his Grace, which his Highnes to mee ever seemed, like a most Gratious Prince, very well to accept, never mindinge, as he said, to molest me more therewith. Since which tyme any further thinge that was able to move mee to any change could I never find, and if I could, there is none in all the world that could have beene gladder of it then I." Many things more were there of like sort on both sides uttered. But in the end when they saw they could by noe meanes of perswasiones remove him from his former determinations, then began they more terribly to touch him, tellinge him that the King's Highnes had given them in commaundment (if the could by noe gentlenesse winne him) in his name with his great ingratitud to charge him, that never was there servaunt to his master soe villanous, nor subject to his prince soe trayterous as hee. For hee by his subtill sinister sleightes, most unnaturally procuringe and provoakinge him to sett forth a booke of the assertion of Seaven Sacraments, and in maintenance of the Pop[e']s authoritie, had caused him to his dishonour throughout all Christendome to put a sword in the Pope's handes to fight against himselfe. When they had thus layd forth all the terrors they could imagine against him: "My Lords" (quoth hee) "These terrors be the argumentes for Children, and not for me. But to answere that wherewith you doe cheefly burthen mee, I beleeve the Kinge's Highnes of his honour will never lay that to my charge. For none is there that in that point cann say more in myne excuse then his Highnes himselfe, who right well knoweth that I was never procurer or councellor of his Majesty thereunto, but after that it was finished, by his Grace's appoyntment, and consent of the makers of the same, only a sorter out, and placer of the principall matters therein contayned; wherein when I found the Pope's authoritie highly advanced, and with stronge arguments mightely defended, I sayd unto his Grace, *I must put your Grace in remembraunce of one thinge, and that is this, The Pope (as your Grace knoweth) is a Prince as you are, and in league with all other Christian Princes, that may hereafter soe fall out, that*

your Grace and he maye vary upon some pointes of the league, where upon may grow some breach of amitie and warre betweene you both; I think it best therefore that that place bee amended, and his authoritie more slenderly touched. Nay (quoth his Grace) that it shall not, wee are so much bounden unto the Sea of Rome, that we cannot doe to much honour unto it. Then did I put him further in remembraunce of the statute of Praemunire, whereby a good parte of the Pope's Pastorall cure here was payed away. To that answered his Heighnes, *what soever impediment be to the contrary, we will sett foorth that authoritie to the uttermost. For wee receaved from that see our Crowne Imperiall;* which till his Grace with his owne mouth tould it me I never hard of before. Soe that I trust when his Grace shal be trulie informed of this, and call to his Gratiouse remembraunce my doings in that behalfe, his Highnes will never speake of it more, but cleare me throughly therein himselfe." And thus disple[s]auntly departed they. Then tooke Sir Tho. Moore his boate towardes his house at Chelsey, wherein by the way he was very merrie, and for that was I nothinge sory, hopinge that he had gotten himselfe discharged out of the Parliament Bill. When he was come home, then walked we towe aloane into his garden togither, where I desirous to know how he had speed saide, "Sir, I trust all is well, because you be soe merry." "That is soe indeed (sonne Roper) I thanke God" (quoth he). "Are you put out of the Parliament Bill then?" sayd I. "By my trouth (sonne Roper)" quoth he, "I never remembred it." "Never remembered it, Sir?" quoth I. "A case that toucheth your selfe soe neere, and us all for your sake. I am sory to here it. For I verily trusted when I saw you soe merry, that all had beene well." Then sayd he, "wilt thou know, sonne Roper, why I was soe merry?" "That would I gladly, Sir," quoth I. "In good fayth I rejoyce, sonne," (quoth he) "that I had given the Divell so foule a fall, and that with those Lords I had gone soe farr, as, without greate shame, I could never goe backe againe." At which words waxed I very sadd. For though himselfe liked it well, yeat liked it me but a litle. Now upon the Reporte made by the Lord Chauncellor,

and the other Lords unto the King of all there wholle Discourse had with Sir Thomas Moore, the king was soe highlie offended with him, that he playnly tould them he was fully determined the saide Parliament Bill should undoubtedly proceede foorth against him. To whome my Lord Chauncellor and the rest of the Lords said, that they perceived the Lords of the upper house soe precisly bent to here him, in his own case, make answere for himselfe, that if he were not putt out of the Parliament Bill, it would without fayle be utterly an overthrowe of all. But for all this needs would the King have his owne will therin, or els he sayd that at the passing therof he would be personally present himselfe. Then the Lord Audeley and the rest, seeinge him soe vehemently sett thereupon, on there knees most humblye besought his Majestie to forbeare the same, consideringe, that if he should in his owne presence receive an overthrowe, it would not onely incourage his subjectes ever after to contemne him, but also throughout all Christendome, redounde to his dishonour for ever, adding therunto, that they mistrusted not in tyme to finde some meete matter to serve his Grace's turne better. For in this case of the Nunne he was accompted soe innocent and cleere, that for his dealing therein menn recconed him worthier of praise then reproofe. Whereupon at length thorough there earnest persuasion, he was content to condescend to there petition. And on the morrowe after, Mr. Cromwell meetinge me in the Parliament house willed me to tell my father, that he was put out of the Parliament Bill. But because I had appoynted to dyne that day in London, I sent the message by my servaunte to my wif at Chelsey, whereof when she informed her father, "in fayth Megge" (quoth he) "*Quod defertur, non aufertur.*" After this as the Duke of Norfolke and Sir Thomas Moore chaunced to fall in familier talke together, the Duke sayd unto him, "By the Masse (Mr. Moore) it is perillous strivinge with Princes, and therfore I would wish you somewhat to inclyne to the King's pleasure. For by Gode's body (Mr. Moore) *Indignatio principis mors est.*" "Ys that all my Lord?" (quoth he.) "Is there (in good fayth) noe more difference betweene your Grace and me, but that I shall dye to day and you

to morrow?" Soe fell it out within a munth or there aboute after the makeinge of the Statute for the oath of Supremacie and Matrimony, that all the Pristes of London and Westminster, and no temporall men but he were sent to appeare at Lambith before the Bishopp of Caunterburye, the Lord Chauncellor, and Secretary Cromwell, Commissioners, ther, to tender the oath unto them. Then Sir Tho. Moore, as his accustomed manner was allwayes e're he entered into any matter of Importaunce (as when he was first chosen of the Kinge's privy Counsell, when he was sent Embassador, appointed Speaker of the Parliament, made Lo. Chauncellor, or when he tooke any like waightie matter upon him) to goe to the Church, and to be confessed, to heare masse, and be housled; soe did he likewise in the morning earely the selfe same day that he was sommoned to appeare before they Lords at Lambeth. And whereas he used evermore before, at his departure from his house and children (whom he loved tenderly) to have them bring him to his boate, and there to kisse them all, and bidd them farewell, then would he suffer none of them foorth of the gate to followe him, butt pulled the wickett after him, and shutt them all from him, and with an heavie harte (as by his countenance it appeared) with me, and our foure servants, there tooke his boate towardes Lambith. Wherein sittinge still sadly awhile, at the last he rounded me in the eare and sayd, "Sonne Roper, I thanke our Lord, the field is woonne." What he meant thereby, then, I wist not. Yeate loath to seeme ignoraunte I answered, "Sir, I am thereof very gladd." But as I conjectured afterwards it was for that the love he had to God wrought in him soe effectually, that it conquered in him all his carnall affectations utterly. At his comming to Lambeth, how wisely he behaved himselfe before the Commissioners, at the ministration of the Oath unto him, may be found in certayne Letters of his (sent to my wife) remaininge in a great booke of his workes: wher, by the space of fower dayes, he was betaken to the Custodie of the Abbott of Westminster, duringe which tyme the King consulted with his Councell what order were eete to be taken with him. And albeit in the beginning they

were resolved, that with an oath not to be acknowne whether he had to the supremacie beene sworne, or what he thought therof, he should be discharged, yete did Queene Ann, by her importunat clamor, soe soare exasperat the King against him, that, contrary to his former resolution, he caused the Oath of the supremacie to be ministred unto him, who, albeit he made a discreete qualifyed aunswere, nevertheless was foorthwith committed to the Tower, who as he was goinge thitherward, wearinge, as he commonly did, a chayne of gould about his neck, Sir Richard Cromwell (that had the charge of his conveyaunce thither) advised him to send home his chayne to his wif, or some of his children, "Nay, Sir, (quoth he) that will I not. For if I were taken in the field by my enemyes, I would the[y] should somewhat fare the better by me." At whose Landinge Mr. Liuetenant at the Tower gate was readie to receive him, where the porter demaunded of him his upper garment. "Mr. Porter" (quoth he) "here it is" and tooke off his capp and delivered him, saying, "I am very sory it is noe better for you." "Nay, Sir," (quoth the Porter) "I must have your gowne," and so was he by Mr. Lieuetenant conveyed into his Lodginge, where he called unto him one John Awood his owne servaunt there appoynted to attend upon him, who could neither writ nor read, and swoare him before the Lieuetena[n]t that if he should here, or see him at any tyme, speake or write any manner of thinge against the Kinge, the Counsell, or the state of the Realme, he should open yt to the Lieuetenant, that the Lieuetenant might incontinent reveal it to the Counsell. Now when Sir Tho. Moore had remayned in the Tower a litle more then a moneth, my wife, longing to see her father, by her earnest suite at length gat leave to go to him. At whose comminge (after the seaven Psalmes and Litanye sayd, which whensoever she came to him, e're he fell in talke of any worldly matters, he used accustomablie to say with her) among other communication he sayd unto her, "I beleeve (Megg) that they that have put me here, weene they have done me a high displeasure. But I assure you on my fayth, myne owne deare daughter, if it had not beene for my wife and you that be my children, whom

I accounte the chiefe parte of my charge, I would not have fayled, long e're this, to have closed my selfe in as straight a Roome and straighter tooe. But since I come hither without myne owne deserte, I trust that God of his goodnesse will discharge me of my care, and with his gratiouse helpe supplie my want among you. I find noe cause (I thanke God, Megg) to recon my selfe in woorse case here, then in myne owne house. For me thinketh God maketh me a wanton, and setteth me on his lapp and dandleth me." Thus by his gratiouse demeanure in tribulations appeared it, that all the troubles that ever chaunced unto him by his patient sufferaunce thereof were to him no painfull punnishments, but of his patience profitable exercises. And at an other tyme, when he had first questioned with my wife a while of the order of his wife and children, and state of his house in his absence, he asked her how Queene Anne did: "in faith father" (quoth shee) "never better. Never better, Megg?" quoth he. "Alas (Megg) alas, it pittieth me to remember, in what misery shee (poore soule) shortly shall come." After this Mr. Lieuetenant comminge into his chamber to visite him, rehersede the benefittes and freindships that he had many tymes received at his hands, and how much bounden he was therefore frendly to entertaine him and make him good cheere, which since (the case standing as it did) he could not doe without the King's indignation, he trusted (he sayd) he would accept his good will, and such poore cheere as he had. "Mr Lieuetenant" (quoth he againe) "I verily believe, as you may, soe are you my good frend in deed, and would (as you say) with your best cheere entertaine me, for the which I most hartily thanke you. And assure your selfe (Mr. Lieutenant)" quoth he, "I doe not mislyke my cheere, but whensoever I soe doe, then thurst me out of your doores." Whereas the oath confirminge the supremacie and matrimony was by the first statute comprised in few words, the Lord Chauncellor and Mr Secretary did of there owne heades add more woords unto it, to make it appear to the King's eares more pleasaunt and plausible. And that oath soe amplified caused they to be ministred to Sir Thomas Moore and to all other throughout the Realme,

which Sir Tho. perceivinge sayd unto my wife: "I may tell thee (Megg) they [that] have committed me hither for refusing of the oath, not agreeable with the statute, are not able by there owne law to justifie my Imprisonment. And surely (daughter) it is a great pittie that a Christian prince should (by a flexible councell redye to follow his affections, and by a weake Cleargie lackinge grace constantly to stand to there learninge) with flatterie soe shamefull to be abused." But at length the Lord Chauncellor and Mr. Secretary, espyinge theire oversight in that behalfe, were fayne afterwardes to find the meanes that an other statute should be made for the confirmation of the oath soe amplifyed with there additions. After Sir Tho. Moore had given over his office and all other worldly doeings therwith, to th' intent he might from thencefourth the more quietly sett himselfe to the service of God, then made he a conveyaunce for the disposition of his lands, reservinge for himselfe an estate therof onely for the tearme of his lyfe, and after his deceasse assuringe some parte of the same to his wife, some to his sonne's wife for a Joynter, in consideration that shee was an inheritrix in possession of more then an hundred poundes Land by the yeare, and some to me and my wife in reccompence of our Marriage money with divers remaynders over, all which conveyaunce and assuraunce was perfectly finnished longe before that matter, whereupon she was attaynted, was made an offence, and yet after by statute cleerely voyded; And soe were all his Lands, that he had to his wife and child[r]en by the sayd conveyaunce in such sorte assured, contrary to the order of Lawe, taken away from them, and brought into the King's hands, saving that portion that he had appoynted to my wife and me, which allthough he had in the foresaid conveyaunc reserved, as he did the rest, for tearme of his life unto himselfe, neverthelesse, upon further consideration, after by another conveyaunce he gave that same ymmediatly to me, and my wife in possession. And soe because the Statute had undone only the first conveyaunce, givinge noe more to the King but soe much as passed by that, the second conveyaunce, whereby it was given unto my wife and me, beinge dated twoe dayes after was without the Com-

passe of the Statute, and soe was our portion to us by that means clearely reserved. As Sir Thomas Moore in the Towere chaunced on a tyme lookeinge out of his windowe to behould one Mr. Raynolds, a religious, learned and verteous father of Sion, and three Monkes of the Charter house for the matter of the supremicie goinge out of the Tower to execution, he, as one longeinge in that jorneye to have accompanied them, sayed unto my wife, then standinge theire besyds him, "Loe, dost thou not see (Megg) that these blessed fathers be now as cheerefull goeinge to there deathes, as brydegromes to theire Marriges? Wherefore thereby mayest thow see (myne owne good daughter) what a difference there is betweene such as have in effect spend all there dayes in a straight, hard, penitentiall, and paynefull lyfe religoously, and such as have in the world, like worldly wretches, as thy poore fathere hath done, consumed all the tyme in pleasure and ease licencyously. For God, consideringe theire longe continued life in most sore and greevous penaunce, will noe longer suffer them to remayne here in this vale of miserye and iniquitie, but speedily hence take them to the fruition of his everlastinge Dietie: where as thie sillie father (Megg) that, like a most wicked Caitiffe, hath passed foorth the whole Course of his miserable life most pittifully, God, thinking him not worthie soe soone to come to that eternall felicitie, leaveth him here yet, still in the world further to be plunged and turmoyied with miserie." Within a while after, Mr. Secretarie (comminge to him into the Towre from the Kinge) pretended much frendshipp towardes him, and for his Comfort tould him, that the King's Highnes was his good and gratious Lord and mindeth not with any matter, wherin he should have any cause of scruple, from hencefoorth to trouble his conscience. As soone as Mr. Secretarie was gone, to expresse what comfort he conceaved of his wordes, he wrot with a Cole (for ynke then he had none) these verses followinge:

Ey flatteringe fortune looke you never soe fayre,
Nor never so pleasantly begin to smyle,
As though thou wouldest my Ruynes all repayre
Dureing my life thou shalt not me beguyle,

Trust I shall, God, to enter in a while
Thye haven of heaven sure and uniforme,
Ever after thie Calme looke I for noe storme.

When Sir Thomas Moore had continued a good while in the Tower, my Ladye his wife obtayned license to see him, who at her first comminge like a simple woman, and somewhat worldlie too, with this manner of salutations bluntly saluted him, "What the good yeare, Mr. Moore" quoth shee, "I marvell that you, that have beene allwayes hitherunto taken for soe wise a man, will now soe playe the foole to lye here in this close filthie prison, and be content to be shutt upp amonge myse and rattes, when you might be abroad at your libertie, and with the favour and good will both of the King and his Councell, if you would but doe as all the Bushopps and best learned of this Realme have done. And seeinge you have at Chelsey a right fayre house, your librarie, your books, your gallerie, your garden, your orchards, and all other necessaries soe handsomely about you, where you might, in the companie of me your wife, your children, and househould be merrie, I muse what a God's name you meane here still thus fondlye to tarry." After he had a while quietly hard her, with a chearefull countenaunce he sayd unto her, "I pray thee good Mrs Alice, tell me, tell me one thinge." "What is that?" (quoth shee.) "Is not this house as nighe heaven as myne owne?" To whome shee, after her accustomed fashion, not likeinge such talke, answeared, "*Tille valle, Tille valle.*" "How say you, Mrs Alice, is it not soe?" quoth he. "*Bone Deus, bone Deus*, man, will this geere never be left?" quoth shee. "Well then, Mrs Alice, if it be soe, it is verie well. For I see noe great cause whie I should much joye of my gaie house, or of any thinge belonginge thereunto, when, if I should but seaven yeares lye buried under the ground, and then arise and come thither againe, I should not fayle to finde some therin that would bidd me gett me out of the doores, and tell mee that weare none of myne. What cause have I then to like such an house as would soe soone forgett his master?" Soe her perswasions moved him but a litle. Not long after came there to him the Lord Chauncellor, the

Duks of Norfolke, Suffolke, with Mr. Secretarie, and certaine others of the privie councell at twoe severall tymes, by all pollices possible procuringe him either precisely to confesse the Supremacie, or precisely to denie it. Whereunto (as appeareth by his examination in the sayd grete booke) they could never bringe him. Shortly hereupon Mr Rich (afterwards Lord Rich) then newlye the King's Sollicitor, Sir Richard Southwell, and Mr Palmer, servaunt to the Secretarie, were sent to Sir Thomas Moore into the Towre, to fetch awaye his books from him. And while Sir Richard Southwell and Mr. Palmer weare bussie in thrussinge upp of his bookes, Mr Riche, pretendinge frendly talke with him, amonge other thinges of a sett course, as it seemed, sayd thus unto him: "For as much as it is well knowne (Mr Moore) that you are a man both wise and well learned, as well in the Lawes of the Realme, as otherwise, I pray you therefore, Sir, lett me be soe bould as of good will to put unto you this case. Admitt there were, Sir" quoth he, "an Acte of Parliament, that all the Realme should take me for the King, would not you (Mr. Moore) take me for the King?" "Yes, Sir," quoth Sir Thomas Moore, "that would I." "I put the case further" (quoth Mr Rich) "that there weare an Acte of Parliament that all the Realme should take me for the Pope; would then not you, Mr. Moore, take me for the Pope?" "For answeare," quoth Sir Thomas Moore, "to your first case, the Parliament may well (Mr Rich) meddle with the stat of temporall Princes; but to make aunsweare to your [second] case, I will put you this case, Suppose the Parliament would make a Law, that God should not be God, would you then, Mr Rich, saye God weare not God?" "Noe, Sir" quoth he, "that would I not, sithe noe Parliament may make any such Law." "Noe more" (sayd Sir Thomas Moore, as Mr Rich reported of him) "could the Parliament make the Kinge suppreame head of the Church." Uppon whose onlie reporte was Sir Tho. Moore indicted of Treason upon the Statute in which it was made Treason to denie the King to be suppreme Heade of the Church, into which indictment weare put these words, *maliciously, traiterouslie and diabolicallye.* When Sir Tho. Moore was brought

from the Towre to Westminster Hall to answeare the Indictment and at the Kinge's bench Barre before the Judges thereuppon arrained, he openly tolde them that he would upon that Indictment have abidden in Lawe, but he thereby should have been driven to confess of himselfe the matter indeed, which was the deniall of the Kinge's Suppremacie, which he protested was untrue, wherefore thereto he pleaded not guiltie, and soe reserved unto himselfe advantage to be taken of the boddie of the matter after verdict, to avoyed that Indictment. And moreover added, "yf those only odious tearmes, *maliciously, traiterously, and diabolically* were put out of the Indictment, he sawe nothing therein justly to charge him." And for proofe to the Jurie that Sir Thomas Moore was guyltie to this Treason, Mr. Riche was called by them to give evidence unto them, as he did; against whome Sir Thomas Moore began in this wise to saye: "Yf I weare a man (my Lordes) that did not regard an oath, I need not (as it is well knowne) in this place, at this tyme, nor in this case to stand as an accused person. And if this oath of your's (Mr. Riche) be true, then praye I that I may never see God in the face, which I would not say, weare it otherwise, to win the whole world." Then recyted he unto the discourse of all theire Communication in the Towre accordinge to the truth, and sayd, "In faith, Mr. Riche, I am sorier for your perjurie then for myne owne perill, and you shall understand that neither I, nor noe man els to my knowledge ever tooke you to be a man of such creditt as in any matter of importance I, or anye other would at any tyme vouchsafe to communicat with you. And (as you know) of no smale while [I] have beene aquainted with you and your conversation, who have knowne you from your youth hitherto. For we longe dwelled both in one parish togeather, where, as your selfe can tell (I am sorrie you compell me soe to saye) you weare esteemed very light of your tongue, a great dicer, and of noe commendable fame. And soe in your house at the Temple (where hath beene your cheefe bringinge upp) weare you likewise accompted. Can it therefore seeme likelie unto your honorable Lordshippes, that I would, in soe waightie a

cause, soe farr overshutte my selfe, as to trust Mr Rich (a man of mee allwayes reputed for one of soe litle truth, as your Lordshipps have hard) soe farr above my Soveraygne Lord the King, or any of his noble Counsellors, that I would unto him utter the secrettes of my conscience touchinge the Kinge's Supremacie, the speciall poynte and only marke at my handes soe longe sought for? A thinge which I never did, nor never would, after the Statute thereof made, reveale it, either to the King's Highnes himself, or to any of his honorable Councellors, as it is not unknowne unto your house, at sundrie tymes, and severall, sent from his Grace's owne person unto the Towre to mee for none other purpose. Can this in your judgments (my Lords) seeme likelie to be true? And if I had soe done indeed, my Lords, as Mr Riche hath sworne, seeinge it was spoke but in familiar secreat talke, nothing affirminge, and only in puttinge of Cases, without other displeasaunt Circumstances, yt cannot justly be taken to be spoken maliciously. And where there is no malice there can be noe offence. And over this I can never thinke (my Lords), that soe many worthie Bishopps soe many honorable personages, and many other worshippfull, verteous, wise, and well learned men, as at the makinge of that Lawe were in the Parliament assembled, ever meant to have any man punnished by death, in whome there could be found noe malice, takinge *malitia pro malevolentia.* For if *malitia* be generallie taken for sinne, noe man is there then that can thereof excuse himselfe. *Quia si dixerimus quod peccatum non habemus, nosmetipsos seducimus, et veritas in nobis non est.* And only this word *maliciouslye* is in the Statute materiall, as this terme *forcible* is in the statute of forcible entryes; by which statute if a man enter peaceablie, and putt not his adversary out forceciblie, it is noe offence, but if he putt him out forciblie, then by that statute it is an offence. And soe shall he be punnished by this tearme *forcible.* Besides this, the manifould goodnesse of my Soveraigne Lord the King's Highnes himself, that hath beene soe many wayes my singuler good Lord and gratious Soveraigne, that hath soe dearely loved me, and trust[ed] mee even at my first comminge into his noble service with

the dignitie of his honorable privie Councell, vouchsafing to admitt mee to offices of great creditt, and worshipp most liberallye advaunced mee, and finallye with that waightie roome of his Grace's high Chauncellorshipp (the like whereof he never did to temporall man before) next to his owne Royall person the highest officer in this noble Realme, soe farr above my merittes or qualities able and meete therefore, of his incomparable benignitie honored and exalted mee by the space of twentie yeares and more, shewing his continuall favour towardes mee; and (untill, at myne owne poore suyt, it pleased his Highnes, givinge me license, with his Majestie's favour, to bestowe the residue of my life whollie for the provision of my soule in the service of God, of his speciall goodnes thereof to discharge and unburden mee) most benignlie heaped honours more and more upon mee; all this his Highnes goodnes, I say, soe longe continued towards me, weare, in my mynd, (my Lordes) matter sufficient to convince this slanderous surmiz, by this man soe wrongfully ymagined against me." Mr Riche seeinge himselfe soe disproved, and his credit so foulie defaced, caused Sir Richard Southwell and Mr Palmer, that at that tyme of their communication weare in the Chamber, to be sworne what wordes had passed betwixt them. Whereuppon Mr Palmer on his deposition said, that he was soe bussie abouts the trussinge upp Sir Tho. Moore's bookes in a sacke, that hee tooke noe heed to there talke. Sir Richard Southwell likewise uppon his deposition said, that because he was appoynted only to looke to the conveyance of his bookes, he gave noe eare unto them. After this, weare there manie other reasons (not now in my remembraunce) by Sir Thomas Moore in his owne defence alleaged, to the discreditt of Mr Riche his foresaid evidence, and proofe of the clearnes of his owne conscience. All which notwithstandinge the Jurie found him guyltie, and incontinent uppon the verdict the Lord Chauncellor (for that matter cheefe commissioner) begininge in judgment against him, Sir Tho. Moore said to him, "My Lord, when I was towards the Law, the manner in such case was to aske the prisoner before Iudgment, why Judgment should not be given

against him?" Whereuppon the Lord Chauncellor stayinge his Iudgment, wherin hee had partly proceeded, demaunded of him what he was able to saye to the contrarie? Whoe then in this sorte mildlie made answere: "Forasmuch as, my Lord," (quoth he) "this Indictment is grounded upon an Act of Parliament, directly oppugnaunt to the Lawes of God and his holye Church, the supreame goverment of which, or of any part thereof, maye no temporall Prince presume by any lawe to take uppon him as rightfully belonginge to the See of Rome, a spirituall preheminence by the mouth of our Saviour himselfe, personallie present uppon the earth, to St. Peeter and his successors Bishopps of the same See, by speciall prerogative, graunted, it is therefore in lawe amongst Christian men insufficient to charge any Christian." And for proofe therof like as amongst divers other reasons and authorities hee declared That this Realme, beinge but one member and smalle parte of the Church, might not make a particular lawe dischargable with the generall Lawe of Christe's holye Catholique church, noe more then the Cittie of London, beinge but one poore member in respect of the whole Realme, might make a Law against an Acte of Parliament to bind the whole Realme unto: so further shewed hee, that it was contrarye both to the Lawes and Statuts of this Land, yete unrepealed, as they might evidently perceive in *Magna charta*, *Quod Ecclesia Anglicana libera sit et habeat omnia jura sua integra, et libertates suas illæsas*, and contrary to that sacred oath which the King's Heighnes himselfe, and every other Christian Prince allwayes at theire Coronations receaved, alleaginge moreover, that noe more might this Realme of England refuse obedience to the See of Rome, then might the Childe refuse obedience to his naturall father. For as St Paul said of the Corinthians, "I have regenerated you my Children in Christ," soe might St Gregorie Pope of Roome (of whom by St Augustine his messenger wee first received the Christian faith) of us English men truly say, "You are my Children, because I have give[n] to you everlastinge salvation, a farr better inheritaunce then [illegible] can leave unto his Child, and by spirituall

generation have made you my spirituall Children in Christ." Then was it thereunto by the Lord Chauncellor answeared, that seinge all the Bishopps, Universities, and best learned men of the Realme had to this Acte agreed, ytt was much marvayled, that he alone against them all would soe stifflie sticke and vehemently argue there against. To that Sir Tho. Moore re-plyed saying, "If the Number of Bishopps and Universities be soe materiall, as your Lordshippes seemeth to take it, then see I litle cause (my Lords) whie that thinge in my conscience should make any chaunge. For I nothinge doubt, but that though not in this Realme, yete in Christendoome about the[y] be not the least part, that be of my mynd therein. But if I should speake of those that be allreadie dead (of whome many be nowe Saintes in heaven) I am verye sure ytt is the farr greater parte of them, that all the while there lived, thought in this case that way that I thinke now. And therefore am I not bound (my Lords) to conforme my Conscience to the Councell of one Realme against the generall Councell of Christendoome." Now when Sir Thomas Moore, for the avoydinge of the Indictment, had taken as many acceptions as he thought meete and more reasons then I can now remember alleaged, the Lord Chauncellor, loath to have the burden of the Judgement whollie to depend upon himselfe, then openlye asked the advice of the Lord Fitz-James, then the Lord Cheefe Justice of the King's Bench, and joyned in Commission with him, whether this Indictment weare sufficient or not? Who like a wise man answeared, "My Lords all, by St Julian" (that was ever his oath) "I must needes confesse, that if the Acte of Parliament be not unlawfull, then is not the Indictment in my conscience insufficient." Where upon the Lord Chauncellor sayd to the rest of the Lords, "Loe, my Lords, loe, you heare what my Lord Cheefe Justice saith," and soe ymmediatly gave the Judgement against him. After which ended, the Commissioneres yete courteously offered him, yf he had any thinge ells to alleage for his defence to graunt him favourable audience, who answeared, "More have I not to say (my Lords) but like as the blessed Appostle St Paule, as we read in the Actes of the

Appostls, was present, and consented to the death of St Stephen, and kept theire clothes that stoned him to death, and yete be they now both twayne holie Sainctes in heaven, and shall continew there freinds for ever, so I verilye trust and shall therefore right hartily praye, that though your Lordships have now in Earth beene Judges to my Condemnation, we may yete hereafter in heaven merily all meete togither to our everlastinge Salvation." Thus much toutching Sir Thomas Moore's arraignement, beinge not thereat present my selfe, have I by the credible reporte of Sir Anthonie Sumtleger Knight, and partely of Sir Richarde Heywood, and John Webb Gentleman, with others of good creditt, at the hearinge thereof present themselves, as farr fourth as my poore witt and memorie would serve mee, here truly rehearsed unto you. Now after this arraignement departed hee from the barre to the Towre againe, ledd by Sir William Kingston, a tall, stronge, and comlye Knight, Constable of the Towre, his very deare frend, whoe when he had brought him from Westminster to the ould Swanne towardes the Towre, there with a heavie hart, the teares runninge downe his cheekes, bad him farewell. Sir Thomas Moore seinge him soe sorrowfull, comforted him with as good wordes as he could, saying, "Good Mr Kingston, trouble not your selfe, but be of good cheare. For I will pray for you, and my good Ladie your wif, that we may meete in heaven togeather, where we shall be merrie for ever and ever." Soone after Sir William Kingston talkinge with mee of Sir Tho. Moore, sayd, "In faith Mr Roper I was ashamed of my selfe, that at my departure from your father, I found my harte soe feeble, and his soe stronge, that he was fayne to comforte me which should rather have comforted him." When Sir Tho. Moore came from Westminster to the Towreward againe, his daughter my wife, desireous to see her father, whome shee thought shee should never see in this world after, and alsoe to have his finall blessinge, gave attendaunce aboutes the Towre wharfe, where shee knewe he should passe by, e're he could enter into the T[illegible] inge for his cominge home, assoone as s[illegible] blessinges on her knees

reverentlie receaved, shee, hastinge towards, without consideration of care of her selfe, pressinge in amongest the midst of the thronge and the Companie of the Guard, that with Hollbards and Billes weare round about him, hastily ranne to him, and there openlye in the sight of all them embraced and tooke him about the necke and kissed him, whoe well likeinge her most daughterlye love and affection towardes him, gave her his fatherlie blessinge, and manye godlie wordes of comfort besides, from whome after shee was departed, shee not satisfied with the former sight of her deare father, havinge respect neither to her self, nor to the presse of the people and multitude that were about him, suddenlye turned backe againe, and rann to him as before, tooke him about the necke, and divers tymes togeather most lovingely kissed him, and at last with a full heavie harte was fayne to departe from him; the behouldinge whereof was to manye of them that weare present thereat soe lamentable, that it made them for very sorrow to mourne and weepe. Soe remayned Sir Thomas Moore in the Towre more then a seaven night after his Judgment. From whence the daye before he suffered he sent his shirt of hare, not willinge to have it seene, to my wyfe, his dearely beloved daughter, and a letter, written with a Cole, contayned in the foresaid booke of his workes, plainely expressinge the fervent desire he had to suffer on the morrowe in these wordes: "I comber you, good Margarett, much, but I would bee sorrie if it should be any longer then to morrowe. For to morrow is St. Thomas even, and the Utas of St. Peeter, and therefore to morrow longe I to goe to God, that weare a daye very meet and convenient for mee. And I never liked your manners better, then when you kissed mee last. For I like when daughterlie Love, and deare Charitie hath noe leasure to looke to worldlie Curtesie." And soe uppon the next morninge, beinge tuesday, St Thomas even, and the Utas of St Peeter in the yeare of our Lord God 1537, accordinge as he in his letter the day before had wished, earlie in the morninge came to him Sir Thomas Pope, his singular frend, on messadge from the Kinge and his Councell, that hee should

before nyne of the clocke in the same morninge suffer death, and that therefore fourthwith he should prepare himselfe therto. "Mr Pope," sayth hee, "for your good tydinges I most hartily thanke you. I have beene allwayes bounden much to the Kinge's Highnes for the benefitts and honors which he hath still from tyme to tyme most bountifully heaped upon mee, and yete more bounden I ame to his Grace for puttinge me into this place, where I have had convenient tyme and space to have remembraunce of my end, and soe helpe me God most of all, Mr Pope, am I bound to his Highnes, that it pleased him soe shortlie to ridd mee of the miseries of this wretched world. And therefore will I not fayle most earnestlye to praye for his Grace both here, and alsoe in an other world. The Kinge's pleasure is further," quoth Mr Pope, "that at your Execution you shall not use many words." "Mr Pope," (quoth hee) "you do well that you give mee warninge of his Grace's pleasure. For otherwise had I purposed at that tyme somewhat to have spoken, but of noe matter wherewith his Grace, or any other should have had cause to be offended. Neverthelesse what soever I intend I am readie obediently to conforme my self to his Grace's Commaundment. And I beseech you, good Mr Pope, to be a meane unto his Highnes, that my daughter Margerette may be present at my buriall." "The King is well contented allreadie" (quoth Mr Pope) "that your Wife, Children, and other frendes shall have free libertie to be present thereat." "O how much behoulden," then said Sir Thomas Moore, "am I to his Grace, that unto my poore buriall vouchsafeth to have so gratious Consideration." Wherewithall Mr Pope takeinge his leave of him could not refrayne from weepinge, which Sir Tho. Moore perceavinge, comforted him in this wise, "Quiete your selfe, good Mr Pope, and be not discomforted. For I trust that we shall once in heaven see each other full merily, where we shall bee sure to live and love togeather in joyfull blisse eternally." Upon whose departure Sir Tho. Moore, as one that had beene invited to a solempne feast, chaunged himselfe into his best apparell; which Mr Lieuetenaunt espyinge, advised

him to put it off, sayinge, That he that should have it was but a Javill. "What Mr Lieuetenaunt" (quoth he) "shall I accompte him a Javill, that [will] doe mee this daye so singular a benefitt? Naye, I assure you, weare it cloath of gould I would accompte it well bestowed on him, as St Cyprian did, who gave his executioner xxx^{ty} peeces of gold." And albeit at length, through Mr Lievetenaunte's perswasions, he altered his apparell, yete, after the example of that holy Martyr St Ciprian, did hee of that litle money that was left him, send one Angell of gold to his Executioner. And soe was he brought by Mr Lieuetenaunt out of the Towre, and from thence ledd towardes the place of execution, where goeinge upp the Scaffold, which was soe weake that it was readie to fall, he sayde to Mr Lievetenaunt, "I pray you, I pray you, Mr Lievetenaunt, "see mee safe upp, and for my cominge downe lett mee shift for my selfe." Then desired hee all the people thereaboutes to pray for him, and to beare wittnesse with him, that he should then suffer death in and for the faith of the holie Catholique Church, which done hee kneeled downe, and after his prayers sayed, hee turned to the executioner, and with a cheerefull Countenaunce spake unto him, "Plucke upp thie spirittes, man, and be not affrayed to doe thine office, my necke is verye short. Take heede therefore thou scute not awrie for savinge thine honestie." Soe passed Sir Thomas Moore out of this world to God uppon the verie same daye in which himselfe had most desired. Soone after whose death came intelligence thereof to the Emperor Charles, whereuppon he sent for Sir Thomas Eliott, our Eenglish Embassodor, and sayd unto him, "My Lord Embassodor, wee understand that the Kinge your Master hath putt his faithfull servaunt and grave wise Councellor Sir Thomas Moore to death." Where unto Sir Thomas Eliott answeared, that hee understood nothinge thereof. "Well," sayd the Emperor, "it is verye true, and this will we saye, that if wee had bine Mr. of such a servaunt, of whose doinges our selves have had these many yeares noe small experience, wee would rather have lost the best Cittie of our Dominiones, then have

lost such a worthie Councellor." Which matter was bye Sir Thomas Eliott to my selfe, to my wife, to Mr. Clement and his wife, to Mr. John Haywood and his wife, and divers others of his frends accordingely reported.

A frutefull

pleasaunt, and wittie worke,

of the beste state of a publique
weale, and of the newe yle, called Uto-
pia: written in Latine, by the right wor-
thie and famous Syr Thomas More
knyght, and translated into Englishe by
Raphe Robynson, sometime fellowe
of Corpus Christi College in Ox-
ford, and nowe by him at this se-
conde edition newlie peru-
sed and corrected, and
also with diuers no-
tes in the margent
augmented.

Imprinted at London, by
Abraham Vele, dwellinge in
Pauls churchyarde, at the signe
of the Lambe.

To the right

honourable, and his verie singuler good maister, maister William Cecylle esquiere, one of the twoo principall secretaries to the kyng his moste excellente maiestie, Raphe Robynson wissheth continuaunce of health, with dayly increase of vertue, and honoure.

UPON a tyme, when tidynges came too the citie of Corinthe that kyng Philippe father to Alexander surnamed the Great, was comming thetherwarde with an armie royall to lay siege to the citie: The Corinthians being forth with stryken with greate feare, beganne busilie, and earnestly to looke aboute them, and to falle to worke of all handes. Some to skowre and trymme up harneis, some to carry stones, some to amende and buylde hygher the walles, some to rampiere and fortyfie the bulwarkes, and fortresses, some one thynge, and some another for the defendinge, and strengthenynge of the citie. The whiche busie labour, and toyle of theires when Diogenes the phylosopher sawe, having no profitable busines whereupon to sette himself on worke (neither any man required his labour, and helpe as expedient for the commen wealth in that necessitie) immediatly girded about him his phylosophicall cloke, and began to rolle, and tumble up and downe hether and thether upon the hille syde, that lieth adjoyninge to the citie, his great barrel or tunne,

wherein he dwelled: for other dwellynge place wold he have none. This seing one of his frendes, and not a litell musynge therat, came to hym: And I praye the Diogenes (quod he) whie doest thou thus, or what meanest thou hereby? Forsothe I am tumblyng my tubbe to (quod he) bycause it where no reason that I only should be ydell, where so many be working. In semblable maner, right honorable sir, though I be, as I am in dede, of muche lesse habilitie then Diogenes was to do any thinge, that shall or may be for the avauncement and commoditie of the publique wealth of my native countrey: yet I seing every sort, and kynde of people in theire vocation, and degree busilie occupied about the common wealthes affaires: and especially learned men dayly putting forth in writing newe inventions, and devises to the furtheraunce of the same: thought it my bounden duetie to God, and to my countrey so to tumble my tubbe, I meane so to occupie, and exercise meself in bestowing such spare houres, as I beinge at the becke, and commaundement of others, cold conveniently winne to me self: that though no commoditie of that my labour, and travaile to the publique weale should arise, yet it myght by this appeare, that myne endevoire, and good wille hereunto was not lacking. To the accomplishement therfore, and fulfyllyng of this my mynde, and purpose: I toke upon me to tourne, and translate oute of Latine into oure Englishe tonge the frutefull, and profitable boke, which sir Thomas More knight compiled, and made of the new yle Utopia, conteining and setting forth the best state, and fourme of a publique weale: A worke (as it appeareth) written almost fourtie yeres ago by the said sir Thomas More the authour therof. The whiche man, forasmuche as he was a man of late tyme, yea almost of thies our dayes: and for the excellent qualities, wherewith the great goodnes of God had

plentyfully endowed him, and for the high place, and rowme, wherunto his prince had most graciously called him, notably wel knowen, not only among us his countremen, but also in forrein countreis and nations: therfore I have not much to speake of him. This only I saye: that it is much to be lamented of al, and not only of us English men, that a man of so incomparable witte, of so profounde knowlege, of so absolute learning, and of so fine eloquence was yet neverthelesse so much blinded, rather with obstinacie, then with ignoraunce that he could not or rather would not see the shining light of godes holy truthe in certein principal pointes of Christian religion: but did rather cheuse to persever, and continue in his wilfull and stubbourne obstinacie even to the very death. This I say is a thing much to be lamented. But letting this matter passe, I retourne again to Utopia. Which (as I said befor) is a work not only for the matter that it conteineth fruteful and profitable, but also for the writers eloquent Latine stiele pleasaunt and delectable. Which he that readeth in Latine, as the authour himself wrote it, perfectly understanding the same, doubtles he shal take great pleasure, and delite both in the sweete eloquence of the writer, and also in the wittie invencion, and fine conveiaunce, or disposition of the matter: but most of all in the good, and holsome lessons, which be there in great plenty, and aboundaunce. But nowe I feare greatly that in this my simple translation through my rudenes and ignoraunce in our English tonge all the grace and pleasure of the eloquence, wherwith the matter in Latine is finely set forth may seme to be utterly excluded, and lost: and therfore the frutefulnes of the matter it selfe muche peradventure diminished, and appayred. For who knoweth not whiche knoweth any thyng, that an eloquent styele setteth forth and highly commendeth a meane matter?

Whereas on the other side rude, and unlearned speche defaceth and disgraceth a very good matter. According as I harde ones a wise man say: A good tale evel tolde were better untold, and an evell tale well tolde nedeth none other sollicitour. This thing I well pondering and wayinge with me self, and also knowing, and knowledging the barbarous rudenes of my translation was fully determined never to have put it forth in printe, had it not bene for certein frendes of myne, and especially one, whom above al other I regarded, a man of sage, and discret witte and in wor[l]dly matters by long use well experienced, whoes name is George Tadlowe: an honest citizein of London, and in the same citie well accepted, and of good reputation: at whoes request, and instaunce I first toke upon my weake and feble sholders the heavie and weightie bourdein of this great enterprice. This man with divers other, but this man chiefely (for he was able to do more with me, then many other) after that I had ones rudely brought the worke to an ende, ceassed not by al meanes possible continualy to assault me, until he had at the laste, what by the force of his pitthie argumentes and strong reasons, and what by hys authority so persuaded me, that he caused me to agree and consente to the impryntynge herof. He therfore, as the chiefe persuadour, must take upon him the daunger, whyche upon this bolde and rashe enterpryse shall ensue. I, as I suppose, am herin clerely acquytte and discharged of all blame. Yet, honorable Syr, for the better avoyding of envyous and malycyous tonges, I (knowynge you to be a man, not onlye profoundely learned and well affected towardes all suche, as eyther canne or wyll take paynes in the well bestowing of that poore talente, whyche GOD hath endued them wyth: but also for youre godlye dysposytyon and vertuous qualytyes not unworthelye nowe placed in

aucthorytye and called to honoure) am the bolder humblye to offer and dedycate unto youre good maystershyppe thys my symple woorke. Partly that under the sauffe conducte of your protection it may the better be defended from the obloquie of them, which can say well by nothing that pleaseth not their fond and corrupt iudgementes, though it be els both frutefull and godly: and partlye that by the meanes of this homely present I may the better renewe and revive (which of late, as you know, I have already begonne to do) that old acquayntaunce, that was betwene you and me in the time of our childhode, being then scolefellowes togethers. Not doubting that you for your native goodnes, and gentelnes will accept in good parte this poore gift, as an argument, or token, that mine old good wil and hartye affection towardes you is not, by reason of long tract of time and separation of our bodies, any thinge at all quayled and diminished, but rather (I assuer you) much augmented and increased. This verely is the chieffe cause, that hath incouraged me to be so bolde with youre maistershippe. Els truelye this my poore present is of such simple and meane sort, that it is neyther able to recompense the least portion of your great gentelnes to me, of my part undeserved, both in the time of our olde acquayntance, and also now lately again bountifully shewed: neither yet fitte and mete for the very basenes of it to be offered to one so worthy as you be. But Almighty God (who therfore ever be thanked) hath avaunced you to such fortune and dignity, that you be of hability to accept thankefully as well a mans good will as his gift. The same god graunte you and all yours long, and joyfully to contynue in all godlynes and prosperytye.

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The translator to the gentle reader.

THOU shalte understande gentle reader that thoughe this worke of Utopia in English, come nowe the seconde tyme furth in print, yet was it never my minde nor intente, that it shoulde ever have bene imprinted at all, as who for no such purpose toke upon me at the firste the translation thereof, but did it onelye at the request of a frende, for his owne private use, upon hope that he wolde have kept it secrete to hym self alone. Whom though I knew to be a man in dede, both very wittie, and also skilful, yet was I certen, that in the knowledge of the Latin tonge, he was not so well sene, as to be hable to judge of the finenes or coursenes of my translation. Wherfore I wente the more sleightlye through with it, propoundynge to my selfe therein, rather to please my sayde frendes judgemente then myne owne. To the meanesse of whose learninge I thoughte it my part to submit and attemper my stile. Lightlie therefore I over ran the whole woorke, and in short tyme, with more hast then good speede, I broughte it to an ende. But as the Latin proverbe sayeth: The hastye bitche bringeth furth blind whelpes. For when this my worke was finished, the rudenes therof shewed it to be done in poste haste. How be it, rude and base though it were, yet fortune so ruled the matter that to imprintinge it came, and that partly against my wyll. Howebeit not beinge hable in this behalfe to resist the pitthie persuasions of my frendes, and perceaving therfore none other remedy, but that furth it

shoulde: I comforted myselfe for the tyme, only with this notable saying of Terence.

Ita vita est hominum, quasi quum ludas tesseris.
Si illud, quod est maxumè opus iactu non cadit:
Illud, quod cecidit forte, id arte ut corrigas.

In which verses the Poete likeneth or compareth the life of man to a diceplaiyng or a game at the tables: meanynge therein, if that chaunce rise not, whiche is most for the plaiers advauntage, that then the chaunce, which fortune hathe sent, ought so connyngly to be played, as may be to the plaier least dammage. By the which worthy similitude surely the wittie Poete geveth us to understande, that though in any of our actes and doynges, (as it ofte chaunceth) we happen to faile and misse of our good pretensed purpose, so that the successe and our intente prove thinges farre odde: yet so we ought with wittie circumspection to handle the matter, that no evyll or incommoditie, as farre furth as may be, and as in us lieth, do therof ensue. According to the whiche counsell, though I am in dede in comparison of an experte gamester and a conning player, but a verye bungler, yet have I in this bychaunce, that on my side unwares hath fallen, so (I suppose) behaved myself, that, as doubtles it might have bene of me much more conningly handled, had I forethought so much, or doubted any such sequele at the beginninge of my plaie: so I am suer it had bene much worse then it is, if I had not in the ende loked somwhat earnestlye to my game. For though this worke came not from me so fine, so perfecte, and so exact at the first, as surely for my smale lerning it should have done, yf I had then ment the publishing therof in print: yet I trust I have now in this seconde edition taken about it such paines, that verye fewe great faultes and notable errours are in it to be founde. Now therfore, most gentle reader, the meanesse of

this simple translation, and the faultes that be therin (as I feare muche there be some) I doubt not, but thou wilt, in just consideration of the premisses, gentlye and favourablye winke at them. So doynge thou shalt minister unto me good cause to thinke my labour and paynes herein not altogethers bestowed in vaine.

VALE.

Thomas More to Peter Giles, sendeth gretynge.

I AM almoste ashamed, righte welbeloved Peter Giles, to send unto you this boke of the Utopian commen wealth, welniegh after a yeres space, whiche I am sure you looked for within a moneth and a halfe. And no marveil. For you knewe well ynough that I was alreadye disbourdened of all the laboure and studye belongynge to the invention in this worke, and that I had no nede at al to trouble my braines about the disposition or conveiaunce of the matter: and therfore had herein nothing els to do, but only to rehearse those thinges, whiche you and I togethers hard maister Raphael tel and declare. Wherefore there was no cause why I shuld study to set forth the matter with eloquence: for as much as his talke could not be fine and eloquent, beynge firste not studied for, but suddein and unpremeditate, and then, as you know, of a man better sene in the Greke language, then in the Latin tonge. And my writynge, the niegher it should approche to his homely plaine, and simple speche, somuche the niegher shuld it go to the trueth: which is the onelye marke, wherunto I do and ought to directe all my travail and study herin. I graunte and confesse, frende Peter, myselfe discharged of so muche laboure, havinge all these thinges ready done to my hande, that almooste there was nothinge left for me to do. Elles either the invention, or the disposition of this matter myghte have required of a witte neither base,

Trueth loveth simplicitie and playnes.

neither at all unlearned, both some time and leasure and also some studie. But if it were requisite and necessarie, that the matter shoulde also have bene wrytten eloquentlie, and not alone truelye: of a sueretie that thynge coulde I have perfourmed by no tyme nor studye. But now seynge all these cares, stayes and lettes were taken awaye, wherin elles so muche laboure and studye shoulde have bene employed, and that there remayned no other thynge for me to do, but onelye to write playnelie the matter as I hard it spoken: that in deede was a thynge lighte and easye to be done. Howbeit to the dispatchynge of thys so lytle busynesse, my other cares and troubles did leave almost lesse then no leasure. Whiles I doo dayelie bestowe my time aboute lawe matters: some to pleade, some to heare, some as an arbitratoure with myne awarde to determine, some as an umpier or a judge, with my sentence finallye to discusse. Whiles I go one waye to see and visite my frende: another waye about myne owne privat affaires. Whiles I spende almost al the day abrode emonges other, and the residue at home among mine owne; I leave to my self, I meane to my booke, no time. For when I am come home, I muste commen with my wife, chatte with my children and talke wyth my servauntes. All the whiche thinges I recken and accompte amonge businesse, forasmuche as they muste of necessitie be done: and done muste they nedes be, onelesse a man wyll be straunger in his owne house. And in any wyse a man muste so fashyon and order hys conditions, and so appoint and dispose him selfe, that he be merie, jocunde and pleasaunt amonge them, whom eyther nature hathe provided, or chaunce hath made, or he hym selfe hath chosen to be the felowes and companyons of hys life: so that with to muche gentle behavioure and familiaritie, he do

The authors bussines and lettes.

not marre them, and by to muche sufferaunce of his servauntes make them his maysters. Emonge these thynges now rehearsed, stealeth awaye the daye, the moneth, the yeare. When do I write then? And all this while have I spoken no worde of slepe, neyther yet of meate, which emong a great number doth wast no lesse tyme then doeth slepe, wherein almoste halfe the life tyme of man crepeth awaye. I therefore do wynne and get onelye that tyme, whiche I steale from slepe and meate. Whiche tyme because it is very litle, and yet somwhat it is, therfore have I ones at the laste, thoughe it be longe first, finished Utopia; and have sent it to you, frende Peter, to reade and peruse: to the intente that yf anye thynge have escaped me, you might put me in remembraunce of it. For thoughe in this behalfe I do not greatlye mistruste my selfe (whiche woulde God I were somwhat in wit and learninge, as I am not all of the worste and dullest memorye) yet have I not so great truste and confidence in it, that I thinke nothinge coulde fall out of my mynde. For John Clement my boye, who as you know was there presente with us, whome I suffer to be awaye frome no talke, wherein maye be any profyte or goodnes (for oute of this yonge bladed and new shotte up corne, whiche hathe alreadye begon to spring up both in Latin and Greke learnyng, I loke for plentifull increase at length of goodly rype grayne) he, I saye, hathe broughte me into a greate doubte. For wheras Hythlodaye (onelesse my memorye fayle me) sayde that the bridge of Amaurote, whyche goethe over the river of Anyder is fyve hundreth paseis, that is to saye, halfe a myle in lengthe: my John sayeth that two hundred of those paseis muste be plucked away, for that the ryver conteyneth there not above three hundreth paseis in breadthe, I praye you hartelye call

Meate and slepe great wasters of time.

John Clement.

the matter to youre remembraunce. For yf you agree wyth hym, I also wyll saye as you saye, and confesse myselfe deceaved. But if you cannot remember the thing, then surelye I wyll write as I have done and as myne owne remembraunce serveth me. For as I wyll take good hede, that there be in my booke nothing false, so yf there be anye thynge doubtefull, I wyll rather tell a lye, then make a lie: bycause I had rather be good, then wilie. Howebeit thys matter maye easelye be remedied, yf you wyll take the paynes to aske the question of Raphael him selfe by woorde of mouthe, if he be nowe with you, or elles by youre letters. Whiche you muste nedes do for another doubte also, that hathe chaunced, throughe whose faulte I cannot tel: whether through mine, or yours, or Raphaels. For neyther we remembred to enquire of him, nor he to tel us in what part of the newe world Utopia is situate. The whiche thinge, I had rather have spent no small somme of money, then that it should thus have escaped us: as well for that I am ashamed to be ignoraunt in what sea that ylande standeth, wherof I write so long a treatise, as also because there be with us certen men, and especiallie one vertuous and godly man, and a professour of divinitie, who is excedynge desierous to go unto Utopia: not for a vayne and curious desyre to see newes, but to the intente he maye further and increase oure religion, whiche is there alreadye luckelye begonne. And that he maye the better accomplyshe and perfourme this hys good intente, he is mynded to procure that he maye be sente thether by the hieghe byshoppe: yea, and that he himselfe may be made bishoppe of Utopia, beynge nothynge scrupulous herein, that he muste obteyne this byshopricke with suete. For he

A diversitie betwene making a lye, and telling a lie.

In what parte of the worlde Utopia standeth it is unknowen.

It is thoughte of some that here is unfainedly ment the late famous vicare of Croydon in Surrey.

A godly suete.

counteth that a godly suete, which procedeth not of the desire of honoure or lucre, but onelie of a godlie zeale. Wherfore I moste earnestly desire you, frende Peter, to talke with Hythlodaye, yf you can, face to face, or els to wryte youre letters to hym, and so to woorke in thys matter, that in this my booke there maye neyther anye thinge be founde, whyche is untrue, neyther any thinge be lacking, whiche is true. And I thynke verelye it shal be well done, that you shewe unto him the book it selfe. For yf I have myssed or fayled in anye poynte, or if anye faulte have escaped me, no man can so well correcte and amende it, as he can: and yet that can he not do, oneles he peruse and reade over my booke written. Moreover by this meanes shall you perceave, whether he be well wyllynge and content, that I shoulde undertake to put this woorke in writyng. For if he be mynded to publyshe, and put forth his owne laboures, and travayles himselfe, perchaunce he woulde be lothe, and so woulde I also, that in publishynge the Utopiane weale publyque, I shoulde prevent him, and take frome him the flower and grace of the noveltie of this his historie. Howbeit, to saye the verye trueth, I am not yet fullye determined with my selfe, whether I will put furth my booke or no. For the natures of men be so divers, the phantasies of some so waywarde, their myndes so unkynde, their judgementes so corrupte, that they which leade a merie and a jocounde lyfe, folowynge theyr owne sensuall pleasures and carnall lustes, maye seme to be in a muche better state or case, then they that vexe and unquiete themselves with cares and studie for the puttinge forthe and publishynge of some thynge, that maye be either profeit or pleasure to others: whiche others nevertheles will disdainfully, scornefully, and unkindly accepte the same. The moost part of al be unlearned.

The unkynde judgementes of men.

And a greate number hathe learning in contempte. The rude and barbarous alloweth nothing, but that which is verie barbarous in dede. If it be one that hath a little smacke of learnynge, he rejecteth as homely geare and commen ware, whatsoever is not stuffed full of olde moughteaten termes, and that be worne out of use. Some there be that have pleasure onelye in olde rustie antiquities. And some onelie in their owne doynges. One is so sowre, so crabbed, and so unpleasaunte, that he can awaye with no myrthe nor sporte. An other is so narrowe betwene the shulders, that he can beare no jestes nor tauntes. Some seli poore soules be so afearde that at everye snappishe woorde their nose shall be bitten of, that they stande in no lesse drede of everye quicke and sharpe woorde, then he that is bitten of a madde dogge feareth water. Some be so mutable and waverynge, that every houre they be in a newe mynde, sayinge one thinge syttinge and an other thynge standynge. An other sorte sytteth upon their allebencheis, and there amonge their cuppes they geve judgement of the wittes of writers, and with greate authoritie they condempne, even as pleaseth them, everye writer accordynge to his writinge, in moste spitefull maner mockynge, lowtinge and flowtinge them; beyng them selves in the meane season sauffe and, as sayeth the proverbe, oute of all daunger of gonneshotte. For why, they be so smugge and smothe, that they have not so much as one hearre of an honeste man, wherby one may take holde of them. There be moreover some so unkynde and ungentle, that thoughe they take great pleasure, and delectation in the worke, yet for all that, they can not fynde in their hertes to love the author therof, nor to aforde him a good woorde: beynge much like uncourteous, unthankfull, and chourlish gestes. Whiche when they have with good and daintie meates

A fitte Similitude.

well fylled theire bellyes, departe home, gevyng no thankes to the feaste maker. Go your wayes now and make a costlye feaste at youre owne charges for gestes so dayntie mouthed, so divers in taste, and besides that of so unkynde and unthankfull natures. But nevertheles (frende Peter) doo, I pray you, with Hithloday, as I willed you before. And as for this matter I shall be at my libertie, afterwardes to take newe advisement. Howbeit, seeyng I have taken great paynes and laboure in writyng the matter, if it may stande with his mynde and pleasure, I wyll as touchyng the edition or publishyng of the booke, followe the counsell and advise of my frendes, and speciallye yours. Thus fare you well

right hertely beloved frende Peter,
with your gentle wife: and
love me as you have ever
done, for I love you
better then
ever I
dyd.

¶ The first

Booke of the communication of Raphael Hythloday, concernyng the best state of a commen welth.

THE moste victorious and triumphant kyng of Englande Henrye the eyght of that name, in al roial vertues, a prince most perelesse, hadde of late in controversie with Charles, the right highe and mightye kyng of Castell, weighty matters and of great importaunce. For the debatement and final determination wherof, the kinges Majesty sent me ambassadour into Flaunders, joyned in commission with Cuthbert Tunstall, a man doutlesse out of comparison, and whom the kynges Majestie of late, to the great rejoysynge of all men, dyd preferre to the office of Maister of the Rolles.

Cuthbert Tunstall.

But of this mannes prayses I wyll saye nothyng, not bicause I doo feare that small credence shal be geven to the testimonye that cometh out of a frendes mouthe: but bicause his vertue and lernyng be greater, and of more excellency, then that I am able to praise them: and also in all places so famous and so perfectly well knowne, that they neede not, nor oughte not of me to bee praysed, unlesse I woulde seeme to shew and set furth the brightnes of the sonne with a candell, as the proverbe saieth. There mette us at Bruges (for thus it was before agreed) thei whom their Prince hadde for that matter appoynted commissioners:

excellent men all. The chiefe and the head of theym was the Maregrave (as thei call him) of Bruges, a right honorable man: but the wisest and the best spoken of them was George Temsice, provost of Casselses, a man, not only by lernyng, but also by nature of singular eloquence, and in the lawes profoundly learned: but in reasonynge and debatyng of matters, what by his naturall witte, and what by daily exercise, surely he hadde few fellowes. After that we had once or twise mette, and upon certayne poyntes or articles coulde not fully and throughly agree, they for a certayne space tooke their leave of us, and departed to Bruxelle, there to know their Princes pleasure. I in the meane time (for so my busines laye) wente streighte thence to Antwerpe. Whiles I was there abidynge, often times amonge other, but whiche to me was more welcome then annye other, dyd visite me one Peter Giles, a citisen of Antwerpe, a man there in his countrey of honest reputation, and also preferred to high promotions, worthy truly of the hyghest. For it is hard to say, whether the yong man be in learnyng, or in honestye more excellent. For he is bothe of wonderfull vertuous conditions, and also singularly wel learned, and towardes all sortes of people excedyng gentyll: but towardes his frendes so kynde herted, so lovyng, so faithfull, so trustye, and of so earnest affection, that it were verye harde in any place to fynde a man, that with him in all poyntes of frendshippe maye be compared. No man can be more lowlye or courteous. No man useth lesse simulation or dissimulation, in no man is more prudent simplicitie. Besides this, he is in his talke and communication so merye and pleasaunte, yea and that withoute harme, that throughe his gentyll intertaynement, and his sweete and delectable communication, in me was greatly abated and diminished the fervente de-

Peter Gyles.

syre, that I had to see my native countrey, my wyfe and my chyldren, whom then I dyd muche longe and covete to see, because that at that time I had been more then iiii. monethes from them. Upon a certayne daye when I hadde herde the divine service in our Ladies churche, which is the fayrest, the most gorgeous and curious churche of buyldyng in all the citie and also most frequented of people and, the service beynge doone, was readye to go home to my lodgynge, I chaunced to espye this foresayde Peter talkynge with a certayne straunger, a man well stricken in age, with a blacke sonneburned face, a longe bearde, and a cloke cast homly about his shoulders, whome by his favoure and apparell furthwith I judged to bee a mariner. But the sayde Peter seyng me, came unto me and saluted me.

And as I was aboute to answere him: see you this man, sayth he (and therewith he poynted to the man, that I sawe hym talkynge with before) I was mynded, quod he, to brynge him strayghte home to you.

He should have ben very welcome to me, sayd I, for your sake.

Nay (quod he) for his owne sake, if you knewe him: for there is no man thys day livyng, that can tell you of so many estraunge and unknowen peoples, and countreyes, as this man can. And I know wel that you be very desirous to heare of such newes.

Then I conjectured not farre a misse (quod I) for even at the first syght I judged him to be a mariner.

Naye (quod he) there ye were greatly deceyved: he hath sailed in deede, not as the mariner Palinure, but as the experte and prudent prince Ulisses: yea, rather as the auncient and sage philosopher Plato. For this same Raphaell Hythlodaye (for this is his name) is very well lerned in the Latine tongue: but

Raphaell Hithlodaye.

profounde and excellent in the Greke language. Wherin he ever bestowed more studye then in the Latine, bycause he had geven himselfe wholy to the study of philosophy. Wherof he knew that ther is nothyng extante in Latine, that is to anye purpose, savynge a fewe of Senecaes, and Ciceroes dooynges. His patrimonye that he was borne unto, he lefte to his brethern (for he is a Portugall borne) and for the desire that he had to see, and knowe the farre countreyes of the worlde, he joyned himselfe in company with Amerike Vespuce, and in the iii. last voyages of those iiii. that be nowe in printe and abrode in every mannes handes, he continued styll in his company, savyng that in the last voyage he came not home agayne with him. For he made suche meanes and shift, what by intretaunce, and what by importune sute, that he gotte licence of mayster Americke (though it were sore against his wyll) to be one of the xxiiii whiche in the ende of the last voyage were left in the countrey of Gulike. He was therefore lefte behynde for hys mynde sake, as one that tooke more thoughte and care for travailyng then dyenge: havyng customably in his mouth these saiynges: he that hathe no grave, is covered with the skye: and, the way to heaven out of all places is of like length and distaunce. Which fantasy of his (if God had not ben his better frende) he had surely bought full deare. But after the departynge of mayster Vespuce, when he had travailed thorough and aboute many countreyes with v. of his companions Gulikianes, at the last by merveylous chaunce he arrived in Taprobane, from whence he went to Caliquit, where he chaunced to fynde certayne of hys countreye shippes, wherein he retourned agayne into his countreye, nothynge lesse then looked for.

All this when Peter hadde tolde me, I thanked him for

his gentle kindnesse, that he had vouchsafed to brynge me to the speache of that man, whose communication he thoughte shoulde be to me pleasaunte and acceptable. And therewith I tourned me to Raphaell. And when wee hadde haylsed eche other, and had spoken these commune woordes, that bee customablye spoken at the first meting and acquaintaunce of straungers, we went thence to my house, and there in my gardaine upon a bench covered with greene torves we satte downe talkyng together. There he tolde us, how that after the departyng of Vespuce, he and his fellowes, that taried behynde in Gulicke, began by litle and litle, throughe fayre and gentle speache, to wynne the love and favoure of the people of that countreye, insomuche that within shorte space, they dyd dwell amonges them, not only harmlesse, but also occupiyng with them verye familiarly. He tolde us also, that they were in high reputation and favour with a certayne great man (whose name and countreye is nowe quite out of my remembraunce) which of his mere liberalitie dyd beare the costes and charges of him and his fyve companions. And besides that gave theim a trustye guyde to conducte them in their journey (which by water was in botes, and by land in wagons) and to brynge theim to other princes with verye frendlye commendations. Thus after manye dayes journeys, he sayd, they founde townes and cities and weale publiques, full of people, governed by good and holsome lawes. For under the line equinoctiall, and on bothe sydes of the same, as farre as the sonne doth extende his course, lyeth (quod he) great and wyde desertes and wildernesses, parched, burned and dryed up with continuall and intollerable heate. All thynges bee hideous, terrible, lothesome and unpleasaunt to beholde: all thynges out of fassyon and comelinesse, inhabited withe wylde beastes and ser-

pentes, or at the leaste wyse, with people, that be no lesse savage, wylde and noysome, then the verye beastes theim selves be. But a little farther beyonde that, all thynges beginne by litle and lytle to waxe pleasaunte; the ayre softe, temperate and, gentle; the grounde covered with grene grasse; lesse wildnesse in the beastes. At the last shall ye come agayne to people, cities and townes wherein is continuall entercourse and occupiyng of merchaundise and chaffare, not only among themselves and with theire borderers, but also with merchauntes of farre countreyes, bothe by lande and water. There I had occasion (sayd he) to go to many countreyes on every syde. For there was no shippe ready to any voyage or journey, but I and my fellowes were into it very gladly receyved. The shippes that thei founde first were made playn, flatte and broade in the botome, trough wise. The sayles were made of great russhes, or of wickers, and in some places of lether. Afterwarde thei founde shippes with ridged kyeles, and sayles of canvasse, yea, and shortly after, havyng all thynges lyke oures. The shipmen also very experte and cunnynge, bothe in the sea and in the wether. But he saide that he founde great favoure and frendship amonge them, for teachynge them the feate and the use of the lode stone, whiche to them before that time was unknowne. And therfore they were wonte to be verye timerous and fearfull upon the sea; nor to venter upon it, but only in the somer time. But nowe they have suche a confidence in that stone, that they feare not stormy winter: in so dooynge farther from care then daunger; in so muche, that it is greatly to be doubted, lest that thyng, throughe their owne folish hardinesse, shall tourne them to evyll and harme, which at the first was supposed shoulde be to them good and commodious.

Shippes of straunge fassions

The lode stone.

But what he tolde us that he sawe in everye countreye where he came, it were very longe to declare; neither it is my purpose at this time to make rehersall therof. But peradventure in an other place I wyll speake of it, chiefly suche thynges as shall be profitable too bee knowen, as in speciall be those decrees and ordinaunces, that he marked to be well and wittely provided and enacted amonge suche peoples, as do live together in a civile policye and good ordre. For of suche thynges dyd wee buselye enquire and demaunde of him, and he likewise very willingly tolde us of the same. But as for monsters, bycause they be no newes, of them we were nothyng inquisitive. For nothyng is more easye to bee founde, then bee barkynge Scyllaes, ravenyng Celenes, and Lestrigones devourers of people, and suche lyke great, and incredible monsters. But to fynde citisens ruled by good and holsome lawes, that is an exceding rare, and harde thyng. But as he marked many fonde, and folisshe lawes in those newe founde landes, so he rehersed divers actes, and constitutions, whereby these oure cities, nations, countreis, and kyngdomes may take example to amende their faultes, enormities and errours. Wherof in another place (as I sayde) I wyll intreate.

Now at this time I am determined to reherse onely that he tolde us of the maners, customes, lawes, and ordinaunces of the Utopians. But first I wyll repete oure former communication by thoccasion, and (as I might saye) the drifte wherof, he was brought into the mention of that weale publique.

For, when Raphael had very prudentlye touched divers thynges that be amisse, some here and some there, yea, very many on bothe partes; and againe had spoken of suche wise lawes and prudente decrees, as be established and used, bothe here amonge us and also there amonge theym,

as a man so perfecte, and experte in the lawes, and customes of every severall countrey, as though into what place soever he came geastwise, there he had ledde al his life: then Peter muche mervailynge at the man: Surely maister Raphael (quod he) I wondre greatly, why you gette you not into some kinges courte. For I am sure there is no prince livyng, that wold not be very glad of you, as a man not only hable highly to delite him with your profounde learnyng, and this your knowlege of countreis, and peoples, but also mete to instructe him with examples, and helpe him with counsell. And thus doyng, you shall bryng your selfe in a verye good case, and also be of habilitie to helpe all your frendes and kinsfolke.

As concernyng my frendes and kynsfolke (quod he) I passe not greatly for them. For I thinke I have sufficiently doone my parte towardes them already. For these thynges, that other men doo not departe from, untyl they be olde and sycke, yea, whiche they be then verye lothe to leave, when they canne no longer keepe, those very same thynges dyd I beyng not only lustye and in good helth, but also in the floure of my youth, divide among my frendes and kynsfolkes. Which I thynke with this my liberalitie ought to holde them contented, and not to require nor to loke that besydes this, I shoulde for their sakes geve myselfe in bondage unto kinges.

Nay, God forbyd that (quod Peter) it is notte my mynde that you shoulde be in bondage to kynges, but as a retainour to them at your pleasure. Whiche surely I thinke is the nighest waye that you can devise howe to bestowe your time frutefully, not onlye for the private commoditie of your frendes and for the generall profite of all sortes of people, but also for thadvauncement of your self to a much welthier state and condition, then you be nowe in.

To a welthier condition (quod Raphael) by that meanes, that my mynde standeth cleane agaynst? Now I lyve at libertie after myne owne mynde and pleasure, whiche I thynke verye fewe of these great states and pieres of realmes can saye. Yea, and there be ynow of them that sue for great mens frendeshippes: and therfore thinke it no great hurte, if they have not me, nor iii. or iiii. suche other as I am.

Well, I perceive playnly frende Raphael (quod I) that you be desirous neither of richesse nor of power. And truly I have in no lesse reverence and estimation a man of your mynde, then anye of theim all that bee so high in power and authoritie. But you shall doo as it becometh you: yea, and accordyng to this wisdome, to this high and free courage of yours, if you can finde in your herte so to appoynt and dispose your selfe, that you mài applye your witte and diligence to the profite of the weale publique, thoughe it be somewhat to youre owne payne and hyndraunce. And this shall you never so wel doe, nor wyth so greate proffitte perfourme, as yf you be of some greate princes counsel, and put into his heade (as I doubte not but you wyl) honeste opinions and vertuous persuasions. For from the prince, as from a perpetual wel sprynge, commethe amonge the people the floode of al that is good or evell. But in you is so perfitte lernynge, that withoute anye experience, and agayne so greate experience, that wythoute anye lernynge you maye well be any kinges counsellour.

You be twyse deceaved, maister More, (quod he) fyrste in me, and agayne in the thinge it selfe. For neither is in me the habilitye that you force upon me, and yf it wer never so much, yet in disquieting myne owne quietnes I should nothing further the weale publique. For first of all, the moste parte of all princes have more delyte in warlike matters and feates of chivalrie (the knowlege wherof I

neither have nor desire) than in the good feates of peace: and employe muche more study, how by right or by wrong to enlarge their dominions, than howe wel and peaceablie to rule and governe that they have alredie. Moreover, they that be counsellours to kinges, every one of them eyther is of him selfe so wise in dede, that he nedeth not, or elles he thinketh himself so wise, that he wil not allowe another mans counsel, saving that they do shamefully and flatteringly geve assent to the fond and folishe sayinges of certeyn great men. Whose favours, bicause they be in high authoritie with their prince, by assentation and flatterie they labour to obteyne. And verily it is naturally geven to all men to esteme their owne inventions best. So both the raven and the ape thincke their owne yonge ones fairest. Than if a man in such a company, where some disdayne and have despite at other mens inventions, and some counte their owne best, if among suche menne (I say) a man should bringe furth any thinge, that he hath redde done in tymes paste, or that he hath sene done in other places: there the hearers fare as though the whole existimation of their wisdome were in jeoperdye to be overthrowen, and that ever after thei shoulde be counted for verye diserdes, unles they could in other mens inventions pycke out matter to reprehend, and find fault at. If all other poore helpes fayle, then this is their extreame refuge. These thinges (say they) pleased our forefathers and auncestours; wolde God we coulde be so wise as thei were: and as though thei had wittely concluded the matter, and with this answere stopped every mans mouth, thei sitte downe againe. As who should sai, it were a very daungerous matter, if a man in any pointe should be founde wiser then his forefathers were. And yet bee we content to suffre the best and wittiest of their decrees to lye unexecuted: but if

Triptakers.

in any thing a better ordre might have ben taken, then by them was, there we take fast hold, findyng therin many faultes. Manye tymes have I chaunced upon such proude, leude, overthwarte and waywarde judgementes, yea, and once in England:

Parcial judgementes.

I prai you Syr (quod I) have you ben in our countrey?

Yea forsoth (quod he) and there I taried for the space of iiii. or v. monethes together, not longe after the insurrection, that the westerne English men made agaynst their kyng, which by their owne miserable and pitiful slaughter was suppressed and ended. In the meane season I was muche bounde and beholdynge to the righte reverende father, Jhon Morton, Archebishop and Cardinal of Canterbury, and at that time also lorde Chauncelloure of Englande: a man, Mayster Peter, (for Mayster More knoweth already that I wyll saye) not more honorable for his authoritie, then for his prudence and vertue. He was of a meane stature, and though stricken in age, yet bare he his bodye upright. In his face did shine such an amiable reverence, as was pleasaunte to beholde, gentill in communication, yet earnest, and sage. He had great delite manye times with roughe speache to his sewters, to prove, but withoute harme, what prompte witte and what bolde spirite were in every man. In the which, as in a vertue much agreinge with his nature, so that therewith were not joyned impudency, he toke greate delectatyon. And the same person, as apte and mete to have an administratyon in the weale publique, he dyd lovingly embrace. In his speche he was fyne, eloquent and pytthye. In the lawe he had profounde knowledge, in witte he was incomparable, and in memory wonderful excellente. These qualityes, which in hym were by nature singular, he by

Cardinall Morton.

learnynge and use had made perfecte. The kynge put muche truste in his counsel, the weale publyque also in a maner leaned unto hym, when I was there. For even in the chiefe of his youth he was taken from schole into the courte, and there passed all his tyme in much trouble and busines, beyng continually tumbled and tossed in the waves of dyvers mysfortunes and adversities. And so by many and greate daungers he lerned the experience of the worlde, whiche so beinge learned can not easely be forgotten. It chaunced on a certayne daye, when I sate at his table, there was also a certayne laye man cunnynge in the lawes of youre realme. Who, I can not tell wherof takynge occasion, began diligently and earnestly to prayse that strayte and rygorous justice, which at that tyme was there executed upon fellones, who, as he sayde, were for the moste parte xx. hanged together upon one gallowes. And, seyng so fewe escaped punyshement, he sayde he coulde not chuse, but greatly wonder and marvel, howe and by what evil lucke it shold so come to passe, that theves nevertheles were in every place so ryffe and so rancke. Naye, Syr, quod I (for I durst boldely speake my minde before the Cardinal) marvel nothinge hereat: for this punyshment of theves passeth the limites of justice, and is also very hurtefull to the weale publique. For it is to extreame and cruel a punishment for thefte, and yet not sufficient to refrayne and withhold men from thefte. For simple thefte is not so great an offense, that it owght to be punished with death. Neither ther is any punishment so horrible, that it can kepe them from stealynge, which have no other craft, wherby to get their living. Therfore in this poynte, not you onlye, but also the most part of the world, be like evyll scholemaisters, which be readyer to beate, then *to* teache their scholers. For great and horrible punish-

Of lawes not made according to equitie.

mentes be appointed for theves, whereas much rather provision should have ben made, that there were some meanes, whereby they myght get their livyng, so that no man shoulde be dryven to this extreme necessitie, firste to steale, and then to dye. Yes (quod he) this matter is wel ynough provided for already. There be handy craftes, there is husbandrye to gette their livynge by, if they would not willingly be nought. Nay, quod I, you shall not skape so: for first of all, I wyll speake nothynge of them, that come home oute of the warres, maymed and lame, as not longe ago, oute of Blacke-heath fielde, and a litell before that, out of the warres in Fraunce: suche, I saye, as put their lives in jeoperdye for the weale publiques or the kynges sake, and by reason of weakenesse and lamenesse be not hable to occupye their olde craftes, and be to aged to lerne new: of them I wyll speake nothing, forasmuch as warres have their ordinarie recourse. But let us considre those thinges that chaunce daily before our eyes. First there is a great numbre of gentlemen, which can not be content to live idle themselves, lyke dorres, of that whiche other have laboured for: their tenauntes I meane, whom they polle and shave to the quicke, by reisyng their rentes (for this onlye poynte of frugalitie do they use, men els through their lavasse and prodigall spendynge, hable to brynge theymselfes to verye beggerye) these gentlemen, I say, do not only live in idlenesse themselves, but also carrye about with them at their tailes a great flocke or traine of idle and loyterynge servyngmen, which never learned any craft wherby to gette their livynges. These men as sone as their mayster is dead, or be sicke themselfes, be incontinent thrust out of dores. For gentle-

By what meanes ther might be fewer theves and robbers.

Idlenesse the mother of theves.

Landlordes by the wai checked for rentraisyng.

Of idle servyng men come theves.

men hadde rather keepe idle persones, then sicke men, and many times the dead mans heyre is not hable to mainteine so great a house, and kepe so many serving men as his father dyd. Then in the meane season they that be thus destitute of service, either starve for honger, or manfullye playe the theves. For what would you have them to do? When they have wandred abrode so longe, untyl they have worne thredebare their apparell, and also appaired their helth, then gentlemen because of their pale and sickely faces, and patched cotes, will not take them into service. And husbandmen dare not set them a worke, knowynge wel ynoughe that he is nothing mete to doe trewe and faythful service to a poore man wyth a spade and a mattoke for small wages and hard fare, whyche beynge deyntely and tenderly pampered up in ydilnes and pleasure, was wont with a sworde and a buckler by hys syde to jette through the strete with a bragginge loke, and to thynke hym selfe to good to be anye mans mate. Naye, by saynt Mary, sir (quod the lawier) not so. For this kinde of men muste we make moste of. For in them as men of stowter stomackes, bolder spirites, and manlyer courages then handycraftes men and plowemen be, doth consiste the whole powre, strength and puissaunce of oure army, when we muste fight in battayle. Forsothe, sir, as well you myghte saye (quod I) that for warres sake you muste cheryshe theves. For suerly you shall never lacke theves, whyles you have them. No, nor theves be not the most false and faynt harted soldiers, nor souldiours be not the cowardleste theves: so wel thees ii. craftes agree together. But this faulte, though it be much used amonge you, yet is it not peculiar to you only, but commen also almoste to all nations. Yet Fraunce besides this is troubled and infected with a much sorer plage. The whole

Betwene soldiers and theves smal diversitie.

royalme is fylled and besieged with hiered souldiours in peace tyme (yf that bee peace) whyche be brought in under the same colour and pretense, that hath persuaded you to kepe these ydell servynge men. For thies wyse fooles and verye archedoltes thought the wealthe of the whole countrey herin to consist, if there were ever in a redinesse a stronge and sure garrison, specially of old practised souldiours, for they put no trust at all in men unexercised. And therfore they must be forced to seke for warre, to the ende thei may ever have practised souldiours and cunnyng mansleiers, lest that (as it is pretely sayde of Salust) their handes and their mindes through idlenes or lacke of exercise, should waxe dul. But howe pernitious and pestilenet a thyng it is to maintayne suche beastes, the Frenche men, by their owne harmes have learned, and the examples of the Romaynes, Carthaginiens, Syriens and of manye other countreyes doo manifestly declare. For not onlye the empire, but also the fieldes and cities of all these, by divers occasions have been overrunned and destroyed of their owne armies before hande had in a redinesse. Now how unnecessary a thinge this is, hereby it maye appeare: that the Frenche souldiours, which from their youth have ben practised and inured in feates of armes, do not cracke nor advaunce themselfes to have very often gotte the upper hand and maistry of your new made and unpractised souldiours. But in this poynte I wyll not use many woordes, leste perchaunce I maye seeme to flatter you. No, nor those same handy crafte men of yours in cities, nor yet the rude and uplandish plowmen of the countreye, are not supposed to be greatly affrayde of your gentlemens idle servyngmen, unlesse it be suche as be not of body or stature correspondent to their strength and courage, or els whose bolde stomakes be dis-

What inconveniences commeth by continuall garisons of souldiours.

couraged throughe povertie. Thus you may see, that it is not to be feared lest they shoulde be effeminated, if thei were brought up in good craftes and laboursome woorkes, whereby to gette their livynges, whose stoute and sturdye bodyes (for gentlemen vouchsafe to corrupte and spill none but picked and chosen men) now either by reason of rest and idlenesse be brought to weakenesse : or els by easy and womanly exercises be made feble and unhable to endure hardnesse. Truly howe so ever the case standeth, thys me thinketh is nothing avayleable to the weale publique, for warre sake, which you never have, but when you wyl your selfes, to kepe and mainteyn an unnumerable flocke of that sort of men, that be so troublesome and noyous in peace, wherof you ought to have a thowsand times more regarde, then of warre. But yet this is not only the necessary cause of stealing. There is an other, whych, as I suppose, is proper and peculiar to you Englishmen alone. What is that, quod the Cardinal? forsoth my lorde (quod I) your shepe that were wont to be so meke and tame, and so smal eaters, now, as I heare saye, be become so great devowerers and so wylde, that they eate up, and swallow downe the very men them selfes. They consume, destroye, and devoure whole fieldes, howses, and cities. For looke in what partes of the realme doth growe the fynest and therfore dearest woll, there noblemen and gentlemen, yea and certeyn abbottes, holy men no doubt, not contenting them selfes with the yearely revenues and profytes, that were wont to grow to theyr forefathers and predecessours of their landes, nor beynge content that they live in rest and pleasure nothinge profiting, yea much noyinge the weale publique, leave no grounde for tillage, thei inclose al into pastures; thei throw doune houses; they plucke downe townes, and leave nothing standynge, but

English shepe devourers of men.

only the churche to be made a shepehowse. And as thoughe you loste no small quantity of grounde by forestes, chases, laundes and parkes, those good holy men turne all dwellinge places and all glebeland into desolation and wildernes. Therfore that on covetous and unsatiable cormaraunte and very plage of his natyve contrey maye compasse aboute and inclose many thousand akers of grounde together within one pale or hedge, the husbandmen be thrust owte of their owne, or els either by coveyne and fraude, or by violent oppression they be put besydes it, or by wronges and injuries thei be so weried, that they be compelled to sell all: by one meanes therfore or by other, either by hooke or crooke they muste needes departe awaye, poore, selye, wretched soules, men, women, husbands, wives, fatherlesse children, widowes, wofull mothers, with their yonge babes, and their whole houshold smal in substance and muche in numbre, as husbandrye requireth manye handes. Awaye thei trudge, I say, out of their knowen and accustomed houses, fyndynge no place to reste in. All their housholdestuffe, whiche is verye litle woorthe, thoughe it myght well abide the sale: yet beeynge sodainely thruste oute, they be constrayned to sell it for a thing of nought. And when they have wandered abrode tyll that be spent, what can they then els doo but steale, and then justly pardy be hanged, or els go about a beggyng. And yet then also they be caste in prison as vagaboundes, because they go aboute and worke not: whom no man wyl set a worke, though thei never so willyngly profre themselves therto. For one shephearde or heardman is ynoughe to eate up that grounde with cattel, to the occupiyng wherof aboute husbandrye manye handes were requisite. And this is also the cause why victualles be

Shepe maisters decayers of husbandrye.

The decaye of husbandry causeth beggery, which is the mother of vagaboundes and theves.

The cause of dearth of victuales.

now in many places dearer. Yea, besides this the price of wolle is so rysen, that poore folkes, which were wont to worke it and make cloth therof, be nowe hable to bye none at all. And by thys meanes verye manye be forced to forsake worke, and to geve them selves to idelnesse. For after that so much grounde was inclosed for pasture, an infinite multitude of shepe dyed of the rotte, suche vengeaunce God toke of their inordinate and unsaciable covetousnes, sendinge amonge the shepe that pestiferous morrein, whiche much more justely shoulde have fallen on the shepemasters owne heades. And though the number of shepe increase never so faste, yet the price falleth not one myte, because there be so fewe sellers. For they be almooste all comen into a fewe riche mennes handes, whome no neade forceth to sell before they lust, and they luste not before they maye sell as deare as they luste. Now the same cause bringeth in like dearth of the other kindes of cattell, yea and that so much the more, bicause that after fermes plucked downe and husbandry decaied, there is no man that passethe for the breadynge of younge stoore. For these riche men brynge not up the yonge ones of greate cattel as they do lambes. But first they bie them abrode verie chepe and afterward, when they be fatted in their pastures, they sell them agayne excedynge deare. And therefore (as I suppose) the whole incommoditie hereof is not yet felte. For yet they make dearth onely in those places where they sell. But when they shall fetche them away from thence wheare they be bredde faster then they can be broughte up: then shall there also be felte greate dearth, stoore beginning there to faile, where the ware is boughte. Thus the unreasonable covetousnes of a few hath

What inconvenience commeth of dearth of wolle.

The cause of dearth of wol.

Dearth of cattel with the cause therof.

turned that thing to the utter undoing of your ylande, in the whiche thynge the cheife felicitie of your realme did consist. For this greate dearth of victualles causeth men to kepe as litle houses and as smale hospitalitie as they possible maye, and to put away their servauntes: whether, I pray you, but a beggynge: or elles (whyche these gentell bloudes and stoute stomackes wyll sooner set their myndes unto) a stealing? Nowe to amende the matter, to this wretched beggerye and miserable povertie is joyned greate wantonnes, importunate superfluitie and excessive riote. For not only gentle mennes servauntes, but also handicrafe men: yea and almooste the ploughmen of the countrey, with al other sortes of people, use muche straunge and proude newefanglenes in their apparell, and to muche prodigall riotte and sumptuous fare at their table. Nowe bawdes, queines, whoores, harlottes, strumpettes, brothelhouses, stewes, and yet another stewes, wynetavernes, ale houses and tiplinge houses, with so manye noughtie, lewde and unlawfull games, as dyce, cardes, tables, tennis, boules, coytes, do not all these sende the haunters of them streyghte a stealynge when theyr money is gone? Caste oute these pernicyous abhominations, make a lawe, that they, whiche plucked downe fermes and townes of husbandrie, shal reedifie them, or els yelde and uprender the possession therof to suche as wil go to the cost of buylding them anewe. Suffer not these riche men to bie up al, to ingrosse and forstalle, and with their monopolie to kepe the market alone as please them. Let not so many be brought up in idelnes, let husbandry and tillage be restored, let clotheworkinge be renewed, that

Dearth of victuales is the decay of house keping; whereof ensueth beggery and thefte.

Excesse in apparell and diet a mainteiner of beggery and thefte.

Baudes, whores, winetavernes, alehouses, and unlawfull games be very mothers of theves.

Rich men ingrossers and forestallers.

ther may be honest labours for this idell sort to passe their tyme in profitablye, whiche hitherto either povertie hath caused to be theves, or elles nowe be either vagabondes, or idel serving men, and shortelye wilbe theves. Doubtles onles you finde a remedy for these enormities, you shall in vaine advaunce your selves of executing justice upon fellons. For this justice is more beautiful in apperaunce, and more florishynge to the shewe, then either juste or profitable. For by suffring your youthe wantonlie and viciously to be brought up, and to be infected, even frome theyr tender age, by litle and litle with vice: then a Goddes name to be punished, when they commit the same faultes after being come to mans state, which from their youthe they were ever like to do: In this pointe, I praye you, what other thing do you, then make theves and then punish them? Now as I was thus speakinge, the lawier began to make hym selfe readie to answere, and was determined with him selfe to use the common fashion and trade of disputers, whiche be more diligent in rehersinge, then answering, as thinking the memorie worthy of the chief praise. In dede sir, quod he, you have said wel, being but a straunger and one that myghte rather heare some thing of these matters, then have any exacte or perfecte knowledge of the same, as I wil incontinent by open proffe make manifest and plaine. For firste I will reherse in order all that you have sayde: then I wyll declare wherein you be deceaved, through lacke of knowledge, in all oure fashions, maners and customes: and last of all I will aunswere youre argumentes and confute them every one. Firste therefore I wyll begynne where I promysed. Foure thynges you semed to me. Holde youre peace, quod the Cardinall: for it appeareth that you will make no shorte aunswere. which make suche a beginnynge.

The corrupte education of youth a mother of thevery.

Wherefore at this time you shall not take the paynes to make youre aun[s]were, but kepe it to youre nexte meatynge, which I woulde be righte glad, that it might be even to morrowe next, onles either you or mayster Raphael have any earnest let. But nowe, mayster Raphael, I woulde verye gladlye heare of you, why you thinke thefte not worthye to be punished with deathe, or what other punishemente you can devise more expedient to the weale publique. For I am sure you are not of that minde, that you woulde have thefte escape unpunished. For yf nowe the extreme punishemente of deathe can not cause them to leave stealinge, then yf ruffians and robbers shoulde be suer of their lyves; what violence, what feare were hable to holde their handes from robbinge, whiche woulde take the mitigation of the punishmente, as a verye provocation to the mischiefe?

He is worthelie put to silence that is to full of wordes.

Suerlye my lorde, quod I, I thinke it not ryght nor justice, that the losse of money should cause the losse of mans life. For myne opinion is, that all the goodes in the worlde are not hable to countervayle mans life. But if they would thus say; that the breakynge of justice, and the transgression of the lawes is recompensed with this punishment, and not the losse of the money, then why maye not this extreme and rigorous justice wel be called plaine injurie? For so cruell governaunce, so streite rules, and unmercyful lawes be not allowable, that if a small offense be committed, by and by the sword should be drawen: nor so stoical ordinaunces are to be borne withall, as to counte al offenses of suche equalitie, that the killing of a man, or the takyng of his money from him were both a matter, and the one no more heinous offense then the other: betwene the whyche two, yf we have anye respecte to equitie, no similitude

That thefte ought not to be punished by death.

Straite lawes not allowable.

or equalitie consisteth. God commaundeth us that we shall not kill. And be we then so hastie to kill a man for takinge a litle money? And if any man woulde understande killing by this commaundement of God to be forbidden after no larger wise, then mans constitutions define killynge to be lawfull, then whye maye it not lykewise by mans constitutions be determined after what sort whordome, fornication and perjurie may be lawfull? For whereas, by the permission of God, no man hath power to kil neither himself, nor yet anye other man: then yf a lawe made by the consent of men, concerninge slaughter of men, oughte to be of suche strengthe, force and vertue, that they which contrarie to the commaundement of God have killed those, whom this constitution of man commaunded to be killed, be cleane quite and exempte out of the bondes and daunger of Gods commaundement: shall it not then by this reason folow, that the power of Gods commaundemente shall extende no further, then mans lawe doeth define, and permitte? And so shall it come to passe, that in like maner mans constitutions in al thinges shal determine how farre the observation of all Gods commaundementes shall extende. To be shorte Moyses law, though it were ungentle and sharpe, as a law that was geven to bondmen; yea, and them very obstinate, stubborne, and styfnecked; yet it punished thefte by the purse, and not wyth death. And let us not thinke that God in the newe law of clemencie and mercye, under the whiche he ruleth us with fatherlie gentlenes, as his deare children, hathe geven us greater scoupe and licence to the execution of cruelte, one upon another. Nowe ye have heard the reasons whereby, I am persuaded that this punishement is unlawful. Furthermore I thinke

That mans law ought not to be prejudicial to gods law.

Thefte in the olde lawe not punished by death.

What inconvenience ensueth of punishynge theft with death.

ther is no body that knoweth not, how unreasonable, yea, how pernitious a thinge it is to the weale publike, that a thefe and an homicide or murderer, should suffer equall and like punishment. For the thefe seynge that man, that is condempned for thefte in no less jeoperdie, nor judged to no lesse punishment, then him that is convicte of manslaughter; throughe this cogitation onelye he is strongly and forciblye provoked, and in a maner constreined to kill him whome els he woulde have but robbed. For the murder beynge ones done, he is in lesse feare, and in more hoope that the deede shall not be bewrayed or knowen, seynge the partye is nowe deade and rydde oute of the waye, which onelye mighte have uttered and disclosed it. But if he chaunce to be taken and discrived, yet he is in no more daunger and jeoperdie, then if he had committed but single fellonye. Therfore whiles we go about with suche crueltie to make theves aferd, we provoke them to kil good men. Now as touchinge this question, what punishemente were more commodious and better; that truelye in my judgemente is easier to be founde, then what punishment might be wurse. For why should we doubt that to be a good and a profytable waye for the punishemente of offendours, whiche we knowe did in tymes paste so longe please the Romaines, men in the administration of a weale publique mooste experte, politique, and cunnynge? Suche as amonge them were convicte of great and heynous trespaces, them they condempned into stone quarries, and into mienes to digge mettalle, there to be kepte in cheynes all the dayes of their life. But as concernyng this matter, I allow the ordinaunce of no nation

Punishing of theft by deathe causeth the thefe to be a murtherer.

What lawfull punishment may be devised for theft.

Howe the Romayns punished theft.

so wel as that which I sawe, whiles I travailed abroade aboute the worlde, used in Persia amonge the people that commenly be called the Polylerites.

A worthy and commendable punishment of theves in the weale publique of the Polylerites in Persia.

Whose land is both large and ample, and also well and wittelye governed: and the people in all conditions free and ruled by their owne lawes, saving that they paye a yearelye tribute to the great kinge of Persia. But bicause they be farre from the sea, compassed and inclosed almoste rounde aboute with hyghe mountaines, and do content them selves with the fruites of their owne lande, which is of it selfe verye fertile and frutfull: for this cause neither they go to other countreis, nor other come to them. And accordynge to the olde custome of the land, they desire not to enlarge the boundes of their dominions: and those that they have by reason of the highe hilles be easely defended: and the tribute whiche they paye to their chiefe lord and kinge setteth them quite and free from warfare. Thus their life is commodious rather then gallante, and may better be called happie or welthy, then notable or famous. For they be not knowen as much as by name, I suppose saving only to theyr next neighbours and borderes. They that in this lande be atteinted and convict of felony, make restitution of that which they stole, to the right owner, and not (as they do in other landes) to the kinge: whome they thinke to have no more righte to the thiefe-stolen thinge, then the thiefe him selfe hathe.

A privie nippe for them that do otherwise.

But if the thing be loste or made away, then the value of it is paide of the gooddes of such offenders, which els remaineth all whole to their wives and children.

Theves condempned to be commen labourers.

And they them selves be condempned to be common laborers, and, oneles the thefte be verie heinous, they be neyther locked in prison,

nor fettered in gives, but be untied and go at large, laboring in the common workes. They that refuse labour, or go slowly and slacklye to their worke, be not onelye tied in cheynes, but also pricked forward with stripes. But beinge diligente aboute theyr worke they live without checke or rebuke. Every night they be called in by name, and be locked in theyr chambers. Beside their dayly labour, their life is nothing hard or incommodious. Their fare is indifferent good, borne at the charges of the weale publike, bicause they be commen servauntes to the commen wealth. But their charges in all places of the lande is not borne alike. For in some partes that which is bestowed upon them is gathered of almes. And thoughe that waye be uncertein, yet the people be so ful of mercy and pitie, that none is found more profitable or plentifull. In some places certein landes be appointed hereunto, of the revenewes whereof they be mainteined. And in some places everye man geveth a certein tribute for the same use and purpose. Againe in some partes of the land these serving men (for so be these dampned persons called) do no common worke, but as everye private man nedeth laborours, so he commeth into the markette place, and there hierethe some of them for meate and drinke, and a certeine limitted waiges by the daye, sumwhat cheper then he shoulde hire a free man. It is also lawefull for them to chastice the slouthe of these servinge men with stripes. By this meanes they never lacke worke, and besides the gayninge of their meate and drinke, everye one of them bringeth dailie some thing into the common treasourie. All and every one of them be apparailed in one coloure. Their heades be not polled or shaven, but rounded a lytle above the eares. And the typpe of the one eare is cut of. Every one of them maye take meate and drinke of their

Serving men.

frendes, and also a coate of their owne colloure: but to receive money is deathe, as well to the gever, as to the receivoure. And no lesse jeoperdie it is for a free man to receive moneye of a seruynge manne for anye maner of cause: and lykewise for servinge men to touche weapons. The servinge men of every severall shire be distincte and knowen frome other by their severall and distincte badges: whiche to caste awaye is death: as it is also to be sene oute of the precincte of their owne shire, or to talke with a servinge man of another shyre. And it is no lesse daunger to them, for to intende to runne awaye, then to do it in dede. Yea and to conceal suche an enterpries in a servinge man it is deathe, in a free man servitude. Of the contrarie parte, to him that openeth and uttereth suche counselles, be decreed large giftes: to a free man a great some of money, to a serving man freedome: and to them bothe forgevenes and pardone of that they were of counsell in that pretence. So that it can never be so good for them to go forewarde in their evyll purpose, as by repentaunce to tourne backe. This is the lawe and order in this behalfe, as I have shewed you. Wherein what humanitie is used, howe farre it is frome crueltie, and howe commodyous it is, you do playnelye perceave: for asmuche as the ende of their wrath and punyshemente intendeth nothynge elles, but the destruction of vices, and savynge of menne: wyth so usynge and ordering them, that they can not chuse but be good, and what harme so ever they did before, in the residewe of theyr life to make amendes for the same. Moreover it is so litle feared, that they shoulde tourne againe to their vicious conditions, that wayefaringe men wyll for their savegarde chuse them to theyr guydes before any other, in every sheire chaunging and taking new. For if they would

An evell intent estemed as the dede.

The right end and intent of punishement.

committe robbery, they have nothinge aboute them meate for that purpose. They may touch no weapons: money founde aboute them shoulde betraie the robbery. They shoulde be no sooner taken with the maner, but furthwith they shoulde be punished. Neither they can have any hope at all to skape awaye by flienge. For howe should a man, that in no parte of his apparell is like other men, flye prevelie and unknowen, onles he woulde runne awaye naked? Howebeit so also flyinge he shoulde be discrived by the roundyng of his heade, and his eare-marke. But it is a thinge to be doubted, that they will laye theyr heddes together, and conspire againste the weale publique. No, no, I warrante you. For the servyng men of one sheire alone coulde never hoope to bringe to passe such an enterprise, without sollicitinge, entysinge, and allurynge the servinge men of manye other shieres to take their partes. Whiche thinge is to them so impossible, that they maye not as much as speake or talke togethers, or salute one an other. No, it is not to be thoughte that they woulde make theyr owne countreymen and companions of their counsell in suche a matter, whiche they knowe well should be ieopardie to the concelour thereof, and great commoditie and goodnes to the opener and detectour of the same. Whereas on the other parte, there is none of them all hopeles or in dispaire to recover againe his former estate of fredome, by humble obedience, by paciente suffringe and by geving good tokens and likelyhoode of himselfe, that he wyll, ever after that, lyve like a trewe and an honest man. For everye yeare divers of them be restored to their freedome: throughe the commendation of their patience. Whan I had thus spoken, sayinge moreover that I coulde see no cause why this ordre might not be had in Englande with muche more profyte, then the justice whiche the lawyer so heighly

praysed: Naye, quod the lawier, this coulde never be so stablyshed in Englande, but that it must nedes bringe the weale publike into great jeoperdie and hasarde. And as he was thus sayinge, he shaked his heade, and made a wrie mouthe, and so he helde his peace. And all that were there present, with one assent agreed to his sayinge. Well, quod the Cardinall, yet it were harde to judge withoute a proffe, whether this order would do wel here or no. But when the sentence of death is geven, if than the kinge shoulde commaunde execution to be defferred and spared, and would prove this order and fassion: takinge awaye the priviliges of all saintuaries: if then the profe shoulde declare the thinge to be good and profitable, than it were wel done that it were stablished: els the condempned and reprived persons may as wel and as justly be put to death after this profe, as when they were first cast. Neither any jeoperdie can in the meane space growe herof. Yea, and me thynketh that these vagaboundes may very wel be ordered after the same fashion, against whom we have hitherto made so many lawes, and so litle prevailed.

Vagaboundes.

When the Cardinall had thus saide, than every man gave greate praise to my sayinges, whiche a litle before they had disallowed. But moost of al was estemed that which was spoken of vagaboundes, bicause it was the Cardinalles owne addition. I can not tell whether it were best to reherse the communication that folowed, for it was not very sad. But yet you shall heare it, for there was no evil in it, and partlye it parteined to the matter before saide. There chaunced to stand by a certein jesting parasite, or scoffer, which wold seme to resemble and counterfeit the foole. But he did in such wise counterfeit, that he was almost the very same in dede that he labored to represent: he so studied with wordes

The wavering judgementes of flatterers.

and sayinges brought furth so out of time and place to make sporte and move laughter, that he himselfe was oftener laughed at then his jestes were. Yet the foolishe fellowe brought out now and then such indifferent and reasonable stuffe, that he made the proverbe true, which saieth: he that shoteth oft at the last shal hit the mark. So that when one of the company sayd, that throughe my communication a good order was founde for theves, and that the Cardinal also had wel provided for vagaboundes, so that only remained some good provision to be made for them that through sicknes and age were fallen into povertie, and were become so impotent and unweldie, that they were not hable to worke for their livinge: Tushe (quod he) let me alone with them: you shall se me do well ynough with them. For I had rather then any good, that this kinde of people were driven sumwher oute of my sight, they have so sore troubled me manye times and ofte, when they have wyth their lamentable teares begged money of me: and yet they coulde never to my mynde so tune their songe, that thereby they ever got of me one farthinge. For ever more the one of these two chaunced: either that I would not, or els that I could not, bicause I had it not. Therfore now they be waxed wise. For when they see me go by, bicause they will not leese theyr labour, they let me passe and saye not one worde to me. So they loke for nothinge of me, no in good sothe no more, then yf I were a priest, or a monke. But I will make a lawe, that all these beggers shall be distributed, and bestowed into houses of religion. The men shal be made laye brethren, as they call them, and the women nunnes. Hereat the Cardinal smiled, and allowed it in jest, yea and all the residue in good earnest. But a certeine freare, graduate in divinitie,

Sicke, aged, impotent persons and beggers.

A commen proverbe amonge beggers.

toke suche pleasure and delite in this jeste of priestes and monkes, that he also beynge elles a man of grislie and sterne gravitie, began merilie and wantonlye to jeste and taunt. Naye, quod he, you shall not so be ridde and dispatched of beggers, oneles you make some provision also for us frears. Why, quod the jester, that is done alreadie, for my lord him selfe set a verye good order for you, when he decreed that vagaboundes should be kept straite and set to worke: for you be the greatest and veriest vagaboundes that be. This jest also, when they sawe the Cardinall not disprove it, every man toke it gladly, savying onelye the frear. For he (and that no marveile) beynge thus touched on the quicke, and hit on the gaule, so fret, so fumed, and chafed at it, and was in such a rage, that he could not refraine himselfe from chidinge, skolding, railing and reviling. He called the fellow ribbalde, villaine, javel, backbiter, sclaunderer, and the childe of perdition: citinge therwith terrible threateninges out of holie scripture. Then the jestynge scoffer beganne to playe the scoffer in dede, and verely he was good at yt, for he could play a part in that play no man better. Patient youre selfe, good maister freare, quod he, and be not angrie, for scripture saieth: in youre patience you shall save your soules. Then the freare (for I will rehearse his own very woordes) No, gallous wretche, I am not angrie (quod he) or at the leaste wise, I do not sinne: for the Psalmiste saith, be you angrie, and sinne not. Then the Cardinal spake gently to the freare, and desired him to quiete himselfe. No my lord, quod he, I speak not but of a good zeale as I oughte: for holye men had a good zeale. Wherefore it is sayd: the zeale of thy house hath eaten me. And it is songe in the church, the skorners of Helizeus, whiles he went up into the house of

A mery talke between a Frere and a foole.

Talke qualified according to the person that speaketh.

God, felte the zeale of the bald, as peradventure this skorning villaine ribaulde shall feele. You do it (quod the Cardinall) perchaunce of a good mynde and affection: but me thinketh you should do, I can not tell whether more holilie, certes more wisely, yf you woulde not set youre witte to a fooles witte, and with a foole take in hande a foolishe contention. No forsoeth, my lorde, (quod he) I shoulde not do more wyselye. For Salomon the wyse saieth: Answere a foole accordinge to his folye, like as I do nowe, and do shew him the pit that he shall fall into, yf he take not hede. For if many skorners of Helizeus, whiche was but one bald man, felte the zeale of the balde, how muche more shall one skorner of many frears feele, amonge whom be manye balde men? And we have also the popes bulles, whereby all that mocke and skorne us be excommunicate, suspended and acursed. The Cardinal, seeing that none ende would be made, sent awaie the jester by a prevy becke, and turned the communication to an other matter. Shortly after, when he was risen from the table, he went to heare his sueters, and so dismissed us. Looke, maister More, wyth how longe and tedious a tale I have kept you, whiche surely I woulde have bene ashamed to have done, but that you so earnestly desired me, and did after such a sorte geve eare unto it, as though you would not that any parcel of that communication should be left out. Whiche thoughe I have done sumwhat briefely, yet could I not chuse but rehearse it, for the judgemente of them, whyche when they had improved and disallowed my sayinges, yet incontinent, hearynge the Cardinall allowe them, dyd themselves also approve the same: so impudently flattering him, that they wer nothing ashamed to admitte, yea almoste in good earnest, his jesters folish inventions: bicause that he him selfe by smiling at

them did seme not to disprove them. So that herby you may right wel perceave how litle the courtiers woulde regarde and esteme me and my sayinges.

I ensure you, maister Raphael, quod I, I toke greate delectacion in hearing you: all thinges that you saide were spoken so wittilye and so pleasauntly. And me thought me selfe to be in the meane time, not onelye at home in my countrei, but also through the pleasaunt remembraunce of the Cardinal, in whose house I was broughte up of a childe, to waxe a child againe. And, frend Raphael, though I did beare verye greate love towardes you before, yet seynge you do so earnestlye favoure this man, you wyll not beleve howe muche my love towardes you is nowe increased. But yet, all this notwithstandinge, I can by no meanes chaunge my mind, but that I must nedes beleve, that you, if you be disposed, and can fynde in youre hearte to followe some princes courte, shall with your good counselles greatlye helpe and further the commen wealthe. Wherfore there is nothynge more apperteining to youre dewty, that is to saye, to the dewtie of a good man. For where as your Plato judgeth that weale publiques shall by this meanes atteyne perfecte felicitie, eyther if philosophers be kynges, or elles if kynges geve themselves to the studie of philosophie, how farre I praye you, shall commen wealthes then be frome thys felicitie, yf philosophers wyll vouchesaufe to enstruct kinges with their good counsell?

They be not so unkinde (quod he) but they woulde gladlye do it, yea, manye have done it alreadye in bookes that they have put furthe, if kynges and princes would be willynge and readye to folowe good counsell. But Plato doubtlesse dyd well foresee, oneless kynges themselves woulde applye their mindes to the studye of Philosophie, that elles they woulde never thoroughlye allowe the coun-

sell of philosophers, beynge themselves before even from their tender age infected, and corrupt with perverse and evill opinions. Whiche thynge Plato hymselfe proved trewe in kinge Dionyse. If I shoulde propose to any kyng wholsome decrees, doynge my endevoure to plucke out of hys mynde the pernicious originall causes of vice and noughtines, thinke you not that I shoulde furthewith either be driven awaye, or elles made a laughyng stocke? Well suppose I were with the Frenche kynge, and there syttinge in his counsell, whiles in that mooste secrete consultation, the kynge him selfe there beynge presente in hys owne personne, they beate their braynes and serche the verye bottomes of their wittes to discusse by what crafte and meanes the kynge maye styl kepe Myllayne, and drawe to him againe fugitive Naples, and then howe to conquere the Venetians, and howe to bringe under his jurisdiction all Italie, then howe to win the dominion of Flaunders, Brabant, and of all Burgundie: with divers other landes, whose kingdomes he hath longe ago in mind and purpose invaded. Here whiles one counselleth to conclude a legue of peace with the Venetians, so longe to endure, as shall be thought mete and expedient for their purpose, and to make them also of their counsell, yea, and besides that to geve them part of the pray, whiche afterwarde, when they have brought theyr purpose about after their owne myndes, they maye require and clayme againe. Another thinketh best to hiere the Germaynes. Another woulde have the favoure of the Swychers wonne with money. Anothers advyse is to appease the puissaunte power of the Emperoures majestie wyth golde, as with a moste pleasaunte and acceptable sacrifice. Whiles another gyveth counsell to make peace wyth the kynge of Arragone,

The Frenche-men privelie be counseled from the desire of Italie.

Launce knightes.

and to restoore unto him hys owne kyngedome of Navarra, as a full assuraunce of peace. Another commeth in with his five egges, and adviseth to hooke in the kynge of Castell with some hope of affinitie or allyaunce, and to bringe to their parte certeine pieers of his courte for greate pensions. Whiles they all staye at the chiefeste doubte of all, what to do in the meane time with Englande, and yet agree all in this to make peace with the Englishmen, and with mooste suer and stronge bandes to bynde that weake and feable frendeshippe, so that they muste be called frendes, and hadde in suspicion as enemyes. And that therfore the Skottes muste be hadde in a readines, as it were in a standynge, readie at all occasions, in aunters the Englishmen shoulde sturre never so lytle, incontinent to set upon them. And moreover previlie and secretlye (for openlie it maye not be done by the truce that is taken) privelie therefore I saye to make muche of some piere of Englande, that is bannished hys countrey, whiche muste cleime title to the crowne of the realme, and affirme hym selfe juste inherytoure thereof, that by this subtill meanes they maye holde to them the kinge, in whome elles they have but small truste and affiaunce. Here I saye, where so great and heyghe matters be in consultation, where so manye noble and wyse menne counsell theyr kynge onelie to warre, here yf I selie man shoulde rise up and will them to tourne over the leafe, and learne a newe lesson, sayinge that my counsell is not to medle with Italy, but to tarye styll at home, and that the kyngedome of Fraunce alone is almooste greater, then that it maye well be governed of one man: so that the kynge shoulde not nede to studye howe to gette more; and then shoulde propose unto them the decrees of the people that be called the Achoriens, whiche be situate over agaynste the Ilande of Utopia on the southeaste side. These Achoriens

ones made warre in their kinges quarrell for to gette him another kingdome, whiche he laide claime unto, and avaunced hymselfe ryghte inheritoure to the crowne thereof, by the tytle of an olde aliaunce. At the last when they had gotten it, an[d] sawe that they hadde even as muche vexation and trouble in kepynge it, as they had in gettynge it, and that either their newe conquered subjectes by sundrye occasions were makynge daylye insurrections to rebell againste them, or els that other countreis were continuallie with divers inrodes and forragynges inuadynge them: so that they were ever fighting either for them, or agaynste them, and never coulde breake up theyr campes: seyng them selves in the meane season pylled and impoverished: their money caried out of the realme: their own men killed to maintaine the glorye of an other nation: when they had no warre, peace nothynge better then warre, by reason that their people in war had so inured themselves to corrupte and wicked maners, that they had taken a delite and pleasure in robbinge and stealing: that through manslaughter they had gathered boldnes to mischiefe: that their lawes were had in contempte, and nothing set by or regarded: that their king beynge troubled with the charge and governaunce of two kingdomes, could not nor was not hable perfectlie to discharge his office towardes them both: seing againe that all these evelles and troubles were endles: at the laste layde their heades together, and like faithfull and lovinge subjectes gave to their kynge free choise and libertie to kepe styll the one of these two kingdomes whether he would: alleginge that he was not hable to kepe both, and that they were mo then might well be governed of halfe a king: forasmuche as no man woulde be content to take him for his mulettour, that kepeth an other mans moyles be-

A notable example, and worthy to be folowed.

sydes his. So this good prince was constreyned to be content with his olde kyngedome and to geve over the newe to one of his frendes. Who shortelye after was violentlie driven out. Furthermore if I shoulde declare unto them, that all this busie preparaunce to warre, wherby so many nations for his sake should be broughte into a troublesome hurlei-burley, when all his coffers were emptied, his treasures wasted and his people destroied, should at the length through some mischance be in vaine and to none effect: and that therfore it were best for him to content him selfe with his owne kingedome of Fraunce, as his forfathers and predecessours did before him; to make much of it, to enrich it, and to make it as flourisshing as he could, to endevoure him selfe to love his subjectes, and againe to be beloved of them, willingly to live with them, peaceably to governe them, and with other kyngdomes not to medle, seinge that whiche he hath all reddy is even ynoughe for him, yea, and more then he can well turne hym to: this myne aduyse, maister More, how thinke you it would be harde and taken?

So God helpe me not very thankefully, quod I.

Wel let us procede then, quod he. Suppose that some kyng and his counsel were together whettinge their wittes, and devisinge what subtell crafte they myght invente to enryche the kinge with great treasures of money. First one counselleth to rayse and enhaunce the valuation of money when the kinge must paye anye: and agayne to calle downe the value of coyne to lesse then it is worthe, when he muste receive or gather any. For thus great sommes shal be payde wyth a lytyl money, and where lytle is due muche shal be receaved. Another counselleth to fayne warre, that when under this coloure and pretence the kyng hath

Enhauncynge and imbasying of coynes.

Counterfayte warres.

gathered greate aboundaunce of money, he maye, when it shall please him, make peace with greate solempnitie and holye ceremonies, to blinde the eyes of the poore communaltie, as taking pitie and compassion forsothe upon mans bloude, lyke a loving and a mercifull prince. Another putteth the kynge in remembraunce of certeine olde and moughteeaten lawes, that of longe tyme have not bene put in execution, whych because no man can remembre that they were made, everie man hath transgressed. The fynes of these lawes he counselleth the kynge to require: for there is no waye so proffitable, nor more honorable, as the whyche hathe a shewe and coloure of justice. Another advyseth him to forbidde manye thinges under greate penalties and fines, specially suche thinges as is for the peoples profit not be used, and afterwarde to dispence for money with them, whyche by this prohibition substeyne losse and dammage. For by this meanes the favour of the people is wonne, and profite riseth two wayes. First by takinge forfaytes of them whome covetousnes of gaynes hath brought in daunger of this statute, and also by sellinge privileges and licences, whyche the better that the prince is, forsothe the deerer he selleth them: as one that is lothe to graunte to any private persone anye thinge that is againste the proffite of his people. And therefore maye sel none but at an exceding dere pryce. Another giveth the kynge counsel to endaunger unto his grace the judges of the realme, that he maye have them ever on his side, and that they maye in everye matter despute and reason for the kynges right. Yea and further to call them into his palace and to require them there to argue and discusse his matters in his owne presence. So there shal be no matter of his so openlye wronge and unjuste, wherein

The renewing of olde lawes.

Restrayntes.

Sellyng of licences.

one or other of them, either because he wyl have sumthinge to allege and objecte or that he is ashamed to saye that whiche is sayde alreadye, or els to pike a thanke with his prince, wil not fynde some hole open to set a snare in, wherewith to take the contrarie parte in a trippe. Thus whiles the judges cannot agree amonges them selfes, reasoninge and arguing of that which is playne enough, and bringinge the manifest trewthe in dowte: in the meane season the kinge maye take a fyt occasion to understand the lawe as shal moste make for his advauntage, whereunto all other for shame, or for feare wil agree. Then the judges may be bolde to pronounce on the kynges side. For he that geveth sentence for the king, cannot be without a good excuse. For it shal be sufficient for him to have equitie on his part, or the bare wordes of the lawe, or a wrythen and wrested understandinge of the same, or els (whiche with good and just judges is of greater force then all lawes be) the kynges indisputable prerogative. To conclude, al the counsellours agre and consent together with the ryche Crassus, that no abundance of gold can be sufficient for a prince, which muste kepe and maynteyne an armie: furthermore that a kynge, thoughe he would, can do nothinge unjustlye. For all that all men have, yea also the men them selfes be all his. And that every man hath so much of his owne, as the kynges gentilnes hath not taken from hym. And that it shal be moste for the kinges advantage, that his subjectes have very lytle or nothinge in their possession, as whose savegarde doth herein consiste, that his people doe not waxe wanton and wealthie through riches and libertie, because where these thinges be, there men be not wonte patiently to obeye harde, unjuste and unlawefull commaundementes; whereas on the other part neade and povertie doth holde downe and kepe under

The saiyng of riche Crassus.

stowte courages, and maketh them patient perforce, takynge from them bolde and rebellynge stomakes. Here agayne if I shoulde ryse up, and boldelye affirme that all these counselles be to the kinge dishonoure and reproche, whose honoure and safetye is more and rather supported and upholden by the wealth and ryches of his people, then by hys owne treasures: and if I should declare that the comminaltie chueseth their king for their owne sake and not for his sake: to the intent, that through his laboure and studie they might al live wealthily sauffe from wronges and injuries: and that therfore the kynge ought to take more care for the wealthe of his people, then for his owne wealthe, even as the office and dewtie of a shepehearde is in that he is a shepherde, to feede his shepe rather then himselfe. For as towchinge this, that they thinke the defence and mayntenaunce of peace to consiste in the povertie of the people, the thing it selfe sheweth that they be farre out of the waye. For where shal a man finde more wrangling, quarrelling, brawling, and chiding, then among beggers? Who be more desierous of newe mutations and alterations, then they that be not content with the present state of their lyfe? Or finallye who be bolder stomaked to bringe all in a hurlieburlye (therby trustinge to get some windfal) then they that have nowe nothinge to leese? And yf any kyng were so smally regarded and so lightly estemed, yea so behated of his subjectes, that other wayes he could not kepe them in awe, but onlye by open wronges, by pollinge and shavinge, and by bringinge them to beggerie, sewerly it were better for him to forsake his kingedome, then to holde it by this meanes: whereby though the name of a king be kepte, yet the maiestie is lost. For it is againste the dignitie of a kynge to have rule over beggers, but rather over ryche

Povertye the mother of debate and decai of realmes.

A worthy saiing of Fabrice.

and welthie men. Of this mynde was the hardie and couragius Fabrice, when he sayde, that he had rather be a ruler of riche men, then be ryche himselfe. And verelye one man to live in pleasure and wealth, whyles all other wepe and smarte for it, that is the parte, not of a kynge, but of a jayler. To be shorte as he is a folyshe phisition, that cannot cure his patientes disease, onles he caste him in an other syckenes, so he that cannot amend the lives of his subjectes, but be taking from them the wealthe and commoditie of lyfe, he muste nedes graunte that he knoweth not the feate how to governe men. But let him rather amende his owne lyfe, renounce unhonest pleasures, and forsake pride. For these be the chiefe vices that cause hym to runne in the contempte or hatred of his people. Let him lyve of hys owne, hurtinge no man. Let him doe cost not above his power. Let him restreyne wyckednes. Let him prevente vices, and take awaye the occasions of offenses by well orderynge hys subjectes, and not by sufferynge wickednes to increase afterward to be punyshed. Let hym not be to hastie in callynge agayne lawes, whyche a custome hathe abrogated: specially suche as have bene longe forgotten, and never lacked nor neaded. And let hym never under the cloke and pretence of transgression take suche fynes and forfaytes, as no judge wyll suffre a private persone to take, as unjuste and ful of gile.

A straunge and notable lawe of the Macariens.

Here if I should brynge forth before them the lawe of the Macariens, whiche be not farre distaunt from Utopia: whose kynge the daye of hys coronation is bounde by a solempne othe, that he shall never at anye time have in hys treasure above a thousande pounde of golde or sylver. They saye a verye good kynge which toke more care for the wealthe and ... ountrey, then for thenriching of him

selfe, made this lawe to be a stop and a barre to kinges from heaping and hording up so muche money as might impoveryshe their people. For he forsawe that this som of treasure woulde suffice to supporte the kynge in battaile against his owne people, if they shoulde chaunce to rebell: and also to maintein his warres againste the invasions of his forreyn enemies. Againe he perceived the same stocke of money to be to litle and unsufficient to encourage and enhable him wrongfullye to take away other mens goodes: whyche was the chiefe cause whie the lawe was made. An other cause was this. He thought that by this provision his people shoulde not lacke money, wherewith to mayneteyne their dayly occupieng and chaffayre. And seynge the kynge could not chewse but laye out and bestowe al that came in above the prescript some of his stocke, he thought he woulde seke no occasions to doe his subjectes injurie. Suche a kynge shal be feared of evel men, and loved of good men. These, and suche other informations, yf I shoulde use among men wholye inclined and geven to the contrarye part, how deaffe hearers thinke you shoulde I have?

Deaffe hearers douteles (quod I) and in good faith no marveyle. And to be plaine with you, truelye I can not allowe that suche communication shal be used, or suche counsell geven, as you be suere shall never be regarded nor receaved. For howe can so straunge informations be profitable, or how can they be beaten into their headdes, whose myndes be allredye prevented with cleane contrarye persuasions? This schole philosophie is not unpleasaunte amonge frendes in familiare communication, but in the counselles of kinges, where greate matters be debated and reasoned with greate authoritye, these thinges have no place.

Schole philosophye in the consultations of Princes hath no place.

That is it whiche I mente (quod he) when I sayde philosophye hadde no place amonge kinges.

In dede (quod I) this schole philosophie hath not, whiche thinketh all thinges mete for every place. But there is an other philosophye more civile, whyche knoweth, as ye wolde say, her owne stage, and thereafter orderynge and behavinge hereselfe in the playe that she hathe in hande, playethe her parte accordingelye with comlyenes, utteringe nothinge oute of dewe ordre and fassyon. And this is the philosophye that you muste use. Or els whyles a commodye of Plautus is playinge, and the vyle bondemen skoffynge and tryffelinge amonge them selfes, yf you shoulde sodenlye come upon the stage in a Philosophers apparrell, and reherse oute of Octavia the place wherein Seneca disputeth with Nero: had it not bene better for you to have played the domme persone, then by rehersynge that, whych served neither for the tyme nor place, to have made suche a tragycall comedye or gallymalfreye? For by bryngynge in other stuffe that nothinge apperteynethe to the presente matter, you muste nedes marre and pervert the play that is in hand, thoughe the stuffe that you bringe be muche better. What part soever you have taken upon you, playe that as well as you can and make the best of it: And doe not therefore disturbe and brynge oute of ordre the whole matter, bycause that another, whyche is meryer and better, cummethe to your remembraunce. So the case standeth in a common wealthe, and so it is in the consultations of kynges and prynces. Yf evel opinions and noughty persuasions can not be utterly and quyte plucked out of their hartes, if you can not, even as you wolde, remedy vices, which use and custome hath confirmed: yet for this cause you must not leave and forsake the common wealthe: you muste not forsake

A fine and a fitte similitude.

A domme plaier.

the shippe in a tempeste, because you can not rule and kepe downe the wyndes. No, nor you muste not laboure to dryve into their heades newe and straunge informations, whyche you knowe wel shal be nothinge regarded wyth them that be of cleane contrary mindes. But you must with a crafty wile and a subtell trayne studye and endevoure youre selfe, as muche as in you lyethe, to handle the matter wyttelye and handesomelye for the purpose, and that whyche you can not turne to good, so to order it that it be not verye badde. For it is not possible for al thinges to be well, onles all men were good. Whych I thinke wil not be yet thies good many yeares.

By this meanes (quod he) nothing elles wyl be brought to passe, but whyles that I goe aboute to remedye the madnes of others, I shoulde be even as madde as they. For if I wolde speake suche thinges that be trewe I must neades speake suche thinges; but as for to speake false thinges, whether that be a philosophers parte or no I can not tel, truelye it is not my part. Howebeit this communication of mine, thoughe peradventure it maye seme unplesaunte to them, yet can I not see why it shoulde seme straunge, or folishelye newfangled. If so be that I should speake those thinges that Plato faynethe in his weale publique: or that the Utopians doe in theires, these thinges thoughe they were (as they be in dede) better, yet they myghte seme spoken oute of place. Forasmuche as here amonges us, everye man hathe his possesions severall to him selfe, and there all thinges be common. But what was in my communication conteyned, that mighte not, and oughte not in anye place to be spoken? Savynge that to them whyche have thoroughlye decreed and determined with them selfes to runne hedlonges the contrary waye it can not be acceptable and pleasaunt, because it call-

The Utopian weale publique.

eth them backe, and sheweth them the jeopardies. Verilye yf all thynges that evel and vitiouse maners have caused to seme inconveniente and noughte should be refused, as thinges unmete and reprochefull, then we must among Christen people wynke at the moste parte of al those thinges, whych Christ taught us, and so streitly forbad them to be winked at, that those thinges also whiche he whispered in the eares of his disciples he commaunded to be proclaimed in open houses. And yet the most parte of them is more dissident from the maners of the worlde nowe a dayes, then my communication was. But preachers, slie and wilie men, followynge youre counsel (as I suppose) bicause they saw men evel willing to frame theyr manners to Christes rule, they have wrested and wriede his doctryne, and like a rule of leade have applyed it to mennes manners: that by some meanes at the leaste waye, they myghte agree together. Whereby I can not see what good they have done: but that men may more sickerlye be evell. And I truelye shoulde prevaile even as litle in kinges counselles. For either I muste saye otherwayes then they saye, and then I were as good to saye nothinge, or els I muste saye the same that they saye, and (as Mitio saieth in Terence) helpe to further their madnes. For that craftye wyle, and subtil traine of yours, I can not perceave to what purpose it serveth, wherewith you wolde have me to study and endevoure my selfe, yf all thinges can not be made good, yet to handle them wittily and handsomely for the purpose, that as farre forth as is possible they may not be very evel. For there is no place to dissemble in, nor to wincke in. Noughtye counselles muste be openlye allowed and verye pestilent decrees muste be approved. He shal be counted worse then a spye, yea almoste as evel as a traytour, that with a faynte harte doth prayse evel and noyesome decrees. Moreover a man canne have no occasion to

doe good, chaunsinge into the companye of them whych wyl soner perverte a good man, then be made good them selfes: through whose evel company he shal be marred, or els if he remayne good and innocent, yet the wickednes and follye of others shal be imputed to hym, and layde in his necke. So that it is impossible with that craftye wyele and subtel trayne to turne anye thinge to better. Wherefore Plato by a goodlye similitude declareth, why wise men refraine to medle in the common wealthe. For when they see the people swarme into the stretes, and daily wet to the skinne with rayne, and yet can not persuade them to goe out of the rayne and to take their houses, knowynge wel, that if they shoulde goe out to them, they should nothinge prevayle, nor wynne ought by it, but with them be wette also in the raine, they do kepe them selfes within their houses, being content that they be saffe them selves, seinge they cannot remedye the follye of the people. Howe be it doubtlesse, maister More, (to speke truelye as my mynde geveth me) where possessions be private, where money bearethe all the stroke, it is harde and almoste impossible that there the weale publique maye justeleye be governed, and prosperouslye floryshe. Onles you thinke thus: that justyce is there executed, where all thinges come into the handes of evell men; or that prosperitye there florysshethe, where all is divided amonge a fewe; whyche fewe neverthelesse doe not leade theire lives very wealthely, and the resydewe lyve myserablye, wretchedlye and beggerlye. Wherefore when I consyder with my selfe and weye in my mynde the wyse and godlye ordinaunces of the Utopians, amonge whome with verye fewe lawes all thinges be so wel and wealthelye ordered, that vertue is had in pryce and estimation, and yet, all thinges beinge there common, everye man hath aboundaunce of everye thinge. Againe on the other part, when I

compare with them so manye nations ever makinge newe lawes, yet none of them all well and sufficientlye furnysshed with lawes; where everye man calleth that he hathe gotten, his owne proper and private goodes; where so many newe lawes daylye made be not sufficiente for everye man to enjoye, defend, and knowe from an other mans that whych he calleth his owne; which thinge the infinite controversies in the lawe, dayle rysynge, never to be ended, playnly declare to be trewe. These thinges (I say) when I consider with me selfe, I holde wel with Plato, and doe nothinge marveille, that he woulde make no lawes for them, that refused those lawes, whereby all men shoulde have and enjoye equall portions of welthes and commodities. For the wise man did easely foresee, this to bee the one and onlye waye to the wealthe of a communaltye, yf equalitye of all thinges should be broughte in and stablyshed. Whyche I thinke is not possible to be observed, where everye mans gooddes be proper and peculiare to him selfe. For where everye man under certeyne tytles and pretences draweth and plucketh to himselfe as much as he can, so that a fewe devide among them selfes all the whole riches, be there never so muche abundaunce and stoore, there to the residewe is lefte lacke and povertye. And for the moste parte it chaunceth, that this latter sorte is more worthye to enjoye that state of wealth, then the other be: bycause the ryche men be covetous, craftye and unprofitable. On the other parte the poore be lowly, simple and by theire daylye laboure more profitable to the common welthe then to them selfes. Thus I doe fullye persuade me selfe, that no equall and juste distribution of thinges can be made, nor that perfecte wealthe shall ever be among men, onles this propriety be exiled and bannished. But so long as it shal continew, so long shal

Plato wylled al things in a common wealth to be commen.

remaine among the most and best part of men the hevy and inevitable burden of poverty and wretchednes. Whiche, as I graunte that it maye be sumwhat eased, so I utterly denye that it can wholy be taken away. For if there were a statute made, that no man should possesse above a certeine measure of grounde, and that no man shoulde have in his stocke above a prescripte and appointed some of money: if it were by certein lawes decreed, that neither the kinge shoulde be of to greate power, neither the people to haute and wealthy, and that offices shoulde not be obteined by inordinate suite, or by brybes and gyftes: that they shoulde neither be bought nor sold, nor that it shoulde be nedeful for the officers, to be at any cost or charge in their offices: for so occasion is geven to theym by fraude and ravin to gather up their money againe, and by reason of giftes and bribes the offices be geven to rich men, which shoulde rather have bene executed of wise men: by such lawes I say, like as sicke bodies that be desperat and past cure, be wont with continual good cherissing to be kept and botched up for a time: so these evels also might be lightened and mitigated. But that thei may be perfectly cured, and brought to a good and upryght state, it is not to be hoped for, whiles every man is maister of his owne to him selfe. Yea, and whyles you goe aboute to doe youre cure of one parte, you shall make bygger the sore of an other parte, so the healpe of one causeth anothers harme: forasmuche as nothinge can be geven to annye one, onles it be taken from an other.

But I am of a contrary opinion (quod I) for me thinketh that men shal never there live wealthelye, where all thinges be commen. For howe can there be abundaunce of gooddes, or of any thing, where every man withdraweth his hande from labour? Whome the regard of his owne gaines driveth

not to worke, but the hope that he hath in other mens travayles maketh him slowthfull. Then when they be pricked with povertye, and yet no man can by any lawe or right defend that for his owne, which he hathe gotten with the laboure of his owne handes, shal not there of necessitie be continual sedition and blodeshed? Speciallye the authoritye and reverence of magistrates beinge taken awaye, whiche, what place it maye have with such men amonge whome is no difference, I cannot devise.

I marvel not (quod he) that you be of this opinion. For you conceave in youre minde either none at al, or els a verye false image and similitude of this thing. But yf you had bene with me in Utopia and had presently sene theire fasshions and lawes, as I dyd, whyche lived there v. years and moore, and wolde never have commen thence, but onlye to make that newe lande knowen here: then doubtles you wolde graunt, that you never sawe people wel ordered, but onlye there.

Surely (quod maister Peter) it shal be harde for you to make me beleve, that there is better order in that newe lande, then is here in these countryes, that wee knowe. For good wittes be as wel here as there: and I thinke oure commen wealthes be auncienter than theires; wherin long use and experience hath found out many thinges commodious for mannes lyfe, besides that manye thinges heare amonge us have bene found by chaunce, whiche no wytte coulde ever have devysed.

As touchinge the auncientnes (quod he) of common wealthes, than you might better judge, if you had red the histories and cronicles of that land, which if we may beleve, cities were there, before men were here. Nowe what thinge soever hetherto by witte hath bene devised, or found by chaunce, that myght be as wel there as here. But I thinke

verily, though it were so that we did passe them in witte: yet in study, in travaile, and in laboursome endevoure they farre passe us. For (as theire chronicles testifie) before our arrival there, they never hard any thing of us, whome they cal the ultraequinoctialles: saving that ones about M.CC. yeares ago, a certeine shyppe was lost by the ile of Utopia whiche was driven thether by tempest. Certeine Romaines and Egyptians were cast on lande. Whyche after that never wente thence. Marke nowe what profite they tooke of this one occasion through delygence and earneste travaile. There was no crafte nor scyence within the impire of Rome, wherof any proffite could rise, but they either lerned it of these straungers, or els of them taking occasion to searche for it, founde it oute. So greate proffite was it to them that ever anye wente thyther from hence. But yf annye like chaunce before this hath brought anye man from thence hether, that is as quyte out of remembraunce, as this also perchaunce in time to come shalbe forgotten, that ever I was there. And like as they quickelye, almoste at the first meting, made theire owne what soever is amonge us wealthelye devised: so I suppose it wolde be long before we wolde receave anythinge that amonge them is better instituted then amonge us. And this I suppose is the chiefe cause whie theire common wealthes be wyselyer governed, and doe flowrish in more wealthe, then ours, though we neither in wytte nor riches be their inferiours.

Therefore gentle maister Raphael (quod I) I praye you and beseche you describe unto us the ilande. And study not to be shorte: but declare largely in order their groundes, their rivers, their cities, theire people, theire manners, their ordinaunces, their lawes, and to be short, al thinges, that you shal thinke us desierous to knowe. And you shal

thinke us desierous to know what soever we knowe not yet.

There is nothing (quod he) that I wil doe gladlier. For all these thinges I have freshe in mind. But the matter requireth leasure.

Let us go in therfore (quod I) to dinner, afterward we wil bestowe the time at our pleasure.

Content (quod he) be it.

So we went in and dyned. When dinner was done, we came into the same place again, and sate us downe upon the same benche, commaunding oure servauntes that no man should trouble us. Then I and maister Peter Giles desiered maister Raphael to performe his promise. He therefore seing us desirous and willing to harken to him, when he had sit stil and paused a litle while, musing and bethinkinge himselfe, thus he began to speake.

The end of the Firste boke.

The seconde

boke of the communication of Raphael Hythlodaye, concernyng the best state of a common wealthe conteynynge the discription of Utopia, with a large declaration of the politike gouernement, and of all the good lawes and orders of the same Ilande.

The sice and fashion of the newe ylande Utopia.

THe iland of Utopia, conteynethe in breadthe in the middel parte of it (for there it is brodest) CC. miles. Which bredthe continueth throughe the moste parte of the lande, saving that by litle and litle it commeth in, and waxeth narrower towardes both the endes. Which fetching about a circuite or compasse of V. C. miles, do fassion the whole iland like to the new mone. Betwene these two corners the sea runneth in, dividyng them a sonder by the distaunce of xi. miles or there aboutes, and there surmountethe into a large and wyde sea, which by reason that the land on every side compassethe it about, and shiltreth it from the windes, is not roughe, nor mounteth not with great waves, but almost floweth quietlye, not muche unlike a greate standinge powle: and maketh welnieghe all the space within the bellye of the lande in maner of a haven: and to the greate commoditie of the inhabitauntes receaveth in shyppes towardes everye parte of the lande.

The forefrontes or frontiers of the ii. corners, what with fordes and shelves, and what with rockes be verye jeoperdous and daungerous. In the middle distaunce betwene them bothe standeth up above the water a greate rocke, which therfore is nothing perillous bycause it is in sight.

A place naturally fenced nedethe but oue garrison.

Upon the top of this rocke is a faire and a strong tower builded, which they holde with a garrison of men. Other rockes there be lyinge hidde under the water, which therfore be daungerous. The channelles be knowen onely to themselfes. And therfore it seldome chaunceth that anye straunger oneles he be guided by an Utopian can come in to this haven. In so muche that they themselfes could skaselye entre withoute jeoperdie, but that theire way is directed and ruled by certaine lande

A politique devise in the chaunging of land markes.

markes standing on the shore. By turninge, translatinge, and removinge thies markes into other places they maye destroye theire enemies navies, be they never so many. The out side or utter circuite of the land is also ful of havens, but the landing is so suerly fenced, what by nature, and what by workemanshyp of mans hand, that a fewe defenders maye dryve backe many armies. Howbeit as they saye, and as the fassion of the place it selfe dothe partely shewe, it was not ever com-

The ilande of Utopia so named of king Utopus.

passed about with the sea. But kyng Utopus, whose name, as conquerour the iland beareth (for before his tyme it was called Abraxa) which also broughte the rude and wild people to that excellent perfection in al good fassions, humanitye, and civile gentilnes, wherin they nowe goe beyond al the people of the world: even at his firste arrivinge and enteringe upon the lande, furthwith obteynynge the victory, caused xv. myles space of uplandyshe grounde, where the sea had no passage, to be cut and dygged up.

And so brought the sea rounde aboute the lande. He set to this worke not only the inhabitauntes of the ilande (because they should not thinke it done in contumelye and despyte) but also all his owne soldiours. Thus the worke beyng divided into so greate a numbre of workemen, was with excedinge marvelous spede dyspatched.. In so muche that the borderers, whiche at the firste began to mocke, and to jeste at this vaine enterpryse, then turned theire derision to marveyle at the successe, and to feare. There be in the ilande liiii. large and faire cities, or shiere townes, agreyng all together in one tonge, in lyke maners, institucions and lawes. They be all set and situate alyke, and in al poyntes fashioned alyke, as farforthe as the place or plotte sufferethe.

Many handes make light worke.

Cities in Utopia.

Similitude causeth concorde.

Of these cities they that be nigheste together be xxiiii. myles asonder. Againe there is none of them distaunte from the nexte above one dayes jorneyeye a fote. There com yearly to Amaurote out of every cytie iii. old men wyse and well experienced, there to entreate and debate, of the common matters of the land. For this citie (because it standeth juste in the middes of the ilande, and is therefore moste mete for the ambassadours of all partes of the realme) is taken for the chiefe and heade citye. The precinctes and boundes of the shieres be so commodiously appoynted oute, and set fourthe for the cities, that none of them all hathe of anye syde lesse then xx. myles of grounde, and of some syde also muche more, as of that part where the cities be of farther distaunce asonder. None of the cities desire to enlarge the boundes and limites of theire shieres. For they counte them selfes rather the good husbandes, then

A meane distaunce betwene citie and citie.

The distribution of landes.

But this now adaies is the grounde of all mischeife.

Husbandrie and tillage cheifly and principally regarded and advaunced.

the owners of theire landes. They have in the countrey in all partes of the shiere houses or fermes builded, wel appointed and furnyshed with all sortes of instrumentes and tooles belongynge to husbandrye. These houses be inhabited of the citezens, whyche come thether to dwelle by course. No howsholde or ferme in the countrey hath fewer then xl. persones men and women, besydes two bondmen, whyche be all under the rule and order of the good man, and the good wyfe of the house, beinge bothe verye sage, discrete and aunciente persones. And every xxx. fermes or families have one heade ruler, whyche is called a philarche, being as it were a head baylyffe. Out of every one of these families or fermes commeth everye yeare into the citie xx. persones whiche have continewed ij. yeres before in the countreye. In theire place so manye freshe be sent thether oute of the citie, whoe, of them that have bene there a yeare all readye, and be therefore expert and conninge in husbandry, shal be instructed and taughte. And they the nexte yeare shall teache other. This order is used for feare that either skarsnes of victualles, or some other like incommoditie should chaunce, throughe lacke of knowledge, yf they should be altogether newe, and freshe, and unexperte in husbandrie. This maner and fassion of yearelye chaunging and renewinge the occupiers of husbandrye, though it be solempne and customablye used, to thintent that no man shall be constrayned againste his wil to contynewe longe in that harde and sharpe kynde of lyfe, yet manye of them have suche a pleasure and delyte in husbandrye, that they obteyne a longer space of yeares.

The dueties of men of husbandrye.

These husbandmen plowe and til the ground, and breede up cattel, and provide and make ready woode, whyche they carrye to the citie

either by lande, or by water, as they maye moste conveyently. They brynge up a greate multitude of pulleyne, and that by a mervaylouse policye. For the hennes dooe not sytte upon the egges: but by keepynge theym in a certayne equall heate they brynge lyfe into them, and hatche theym. The chykens, as sone as they be come oute of the shel, follow men and women in steade of the hennes.

A straunge fassion in hatchinge and bringing up of pulleyne.

They brynge up verye fewe horses: nor none, but very fearce ones: and that for none other use or purpose, but onlye to exercyse theire youthe in rydynge and feates of armes.

The use of horses.

For oxen be put to all the laboure of plowyng and drawinge. Whiche they graunte to be not so good as horses at a sodeyne brunte, and (as we saye) at a deade lifte, but yet they holde opinion that oxen wil abide and suffre muche more laboure, payne and hardnes, then horses wil. And they thinke that oxen be not in daunger and subject unto so many diseases, and that they be kepte and mainteined with muche lesse coste and charge: and finallye that they be good for meate, when they be past laboure.

The use of oxen.

They sowe corne onelye for breade. For their drinke is eyther wyne made of grapes, or els of apples, or peares, or els it is cleare water. And many times meathe made of honey or licouresse sodde in water, for thereof they have great store.

Bread and drink.

And though they knowe certeynlie (for they knowe it perfectly in dede) how muche vitailes the citie wyth the whole countreye or shiere rounde aboute it doeth spende: yet they sowe muche more corne, and bryed up muche more cattell, then serveth for their owne use, partynge the overplus among their borderers. What soever necessarie thinges be lacking in the countrey, all suche stuffe they fetch out of the citie: where without any ex-

A great discretion in sowing of corne.

chaunge they easelye obteyne it of the magistrates of the citie. For every moneth manie of them go into the citie on the holy daye. When theyr harvest day draweth neare and is at hande, then the philarches, which be the head officers and bailifes of husbandrie, send worde to the magistrates of the citie what numbre of harvest men is nedefull to be sent to them oute of the citie. The whiche companye of harvest men beynge readye at the daye appoynted, almost in one fayre daye dispacheth all the harvest woorke.

Mutual helpe quickely dispatcheth.

Of the cities and namely of Amaurote.

AS for their cities, who so knoweth one of them, knoweth them all: they be al so like one to an other, as farfurthe as the nature of the place permitteth. I will describe therefore to you one or other of them, for it skilleth not greatly which: but which rather then Amaurote? Of them all this is the worthiest and of most dignitie. For the resideu knowledge it for the head citie, because there is the counsell house. Nor to me anye of them all is better beloved, as wherin I lived five whole yeares together. The citie of Amaurote standeth upon the side of a lowe hill in fashyon almost foure square. For the breadth of it beginneth a litle beneth the toppe

The description of Amaurote the chiefe citie in Utopia.

of the hill, and still continueth by the space of two miles, untill it come to the ryver of Anyder. The length of it, which lieth by the ryvers syde, is sumwhat more.

The description of the river of Anyder.

The river of Anyder riseth four and twentie myles above Amaurote out of a litle springe. But beynge increased by other smale rivers and broukes that runne into it, and amonge other two sumwhat bygge ons, before the citie it is half a mile broade, and farther broader. And fortie myles beyonde the citie it falleth into the Ocean sea. By all that space that liethe betwene the sea and the citie, and certen myles also above the citie the water ebbeth and floweth sixe houres together with a swift tide. Whan the sea floweth in, for the length of thirtie miles it filleth all the Anyder with salte water, and driveth backe the freshe water of the ryver. And sumwhat further it chaungeth the swetenes of the freshe water with saltnes. But a litle beyonde that the river waxeth swete, and runneth foreby the citie freshe and pleasaunt. And when the sea ebbeth, and goeth backe againe, the freshe water foloweth it almooste even to the verie fal into the sea. Ther goeth a bridge over the river made not of piles or of timber, but of stonewarke with gorgious and substancial arches at that part of the citie that is farthest from the sea: to the intent that shippes maye passe alonge forbie all the side of the citie without let. They have also an other river which in dede is not verie great. But it runneth gentely and pleasauntly. For it riseth even oute of the same hill that the citie standeth upon, and runneth downe a slope through the middes of the citie into Anyder. And because it riseth a litle withoute the citie, the Amaurotians have inclosed the head springe of it, with stronge fences and bulwarkes, and so

The verie like in England in the river of Thamys.

Herein also doeth London agre with Amaurote.

have joyned it to the citie. This is done to the intente that

The use of freshe water.

the water shoulde not be stopped nor turned away, or poysoned, if their enemies should chaunce to come upon them. From thence the water is derived and conveied downe in cannels of bricke divers wayes into the lower partes of the citie. Where that cannot be done, by reason that the place wyll not suffer it, there they gather the raine water in great cisternes, whiche doeth them as good service.

The defence of towne walles.

The citie is compassed aboute with a heighe and thicke stone walle full of turrettes and bulwarkes. A drie diche, but deape, and brode, and overgrowen with bushes, briers and thornes, goeth aboute thre sides or quarters of the city. To the fourth side the river it selfe serveth for a ditche.

Stretes.

The stretes be appointed and set furth very commodious and handsome, both for carriage, and also againste the windes.

Buildinges and houses.

The houses be of faire and gorgious building, and on the strete side they stande joyned together in a long rowe through the whole streate without any partition or separation. The stretes be twentie foote brode. On the backe side of the

To every dwelling house a garden platte adjoyninge.

houses through the whole length of the streete, lye large gardens inclosed rounde aboute wyth the backe part of the streetes. Everye house hathe two doores, one into the streete, and a posterne doore on the backsyde into the garden. These doores be made with two leaves, never locked nor bolted, so easie to be opened, that they wil followe the least drawing of a fynger, and shutte againe alone. Whoso will, may go in, for there is nothinge within the houses that is private, or anie mans owne.

This geere smelleth of Plato his communitie.

And every tenth yeare they chaunge their houses by lot. They set great store by their gardeins. In them they have vineyardes,

all maner of fruite, herbes and flowres, so pleasaunt, so well furnished and so fynely kepte, that I never sawe thynge more frutefull, nor better trimmed in anye place. Their studie and deligence herin commeth not onely of pleasure, but also of a certen strife and contention that is betwene strete and strete, concerning the trimming, husbanding and furnisshing of their gardens: everye man for his owne parte. And verelye you shall not lightelye finde in all the citie anye thinge, that is more commodious, eyther for the profite of the citizens, or for pleasure. And therfore it maye seme that the first founder of the citie mynded nothing so much, as these gardens. For they saye that kinge Utopus him selfe, even at the first beginning appointed and drewe furth the platte fourme of the citie into this fashion and figure that it hath nowe, but the gallant garnishinge, and the beautifull settinge furth of it, wherunto he sawe that one mannes age would not suffice: that he left to his posteritie. For their cronicles, whiche they kepe written with all deligente circumspection, conteinynge the historie of M. vii. C. lx. yeares, even from the firste conquest of the ilande, recorde and witnesse that the houses in the beginning were very low, and like homely cotages or poore sheppard houses, made at all adventures of everye rude pece of tymber, that came firste to hande, with mudde walles and ridged rooffes, thatched over with strawe. But nowe the houses be curiouslye buylded after a gorgious and gallante sorte, with three storyes one over another. The outsides of the walles be made either of harde flynte, or of plaster, or els of bricke, and the inner sydes be well strengthened with tymber work. The roofes be plaine and flat, covered with a certen kinde of plaster that is of no coste, and yet

The commoditie of gardens is commended also of Vergile.

so tempered that no fyre can hurt or perishe it, and withstandeth the violence of the wether better then any leade. They kepe the winde oute of their windowes with glasse, for it is ther much used, and somhere also with fine linnen cloth dipped in oyle or ambre, and that for two commodities. For by thys meanes more lighte commeth in, and the winde is better kepte oute.

Glased or canvased windowes.

Of the magistrates.

Everye thirtie families or fermes, chuese them yerely an officer, which in their olde language is called the syphograunte, and by a newe, name the philarche. Every ten syphograuntes, with al their thirtie families be under an officer which was ones called the tranibore, nowe the chiefe philarche. Moreover as concerninge the election of the prince, all the syphogranntes, which be in number 200. first be sworne to chuese him whom they thinke mooste mete and expediente. Then by a secrete election, they name prince one of those iiij. whome the people before named unto them. For oute of the iiij. quarters of the citie there be iiij. chosen, oute of every quarter one, to stande for the election: Whiche be put up to the counsell. The princes office continueth all his life tyme, oneles he be deposed or put downe for suspition of tirannie. They chuese the tranibores yearly, but lightlie they chaunge them not. All

A tranibore in the Utopiane tonge signifieth a head or chief peere.

A marvelous straunge fassion in chusinge magistrates.

Tyranny in a wel ordered weale publique utterlie to be abhorred.

the other officers be but for one yeare. The tranibores everye thyrde daye, and sumtimes, yf nede be, oftener come into the counsell house with the prince. Their counsell is concerninge the common wealthe. If there be any controversies amonge the commoners, whiche be verye fewe, they dispatch and ende them by and by. They take ever ij. siphograuntes to them in counsel, and everi dai a new coupel. And it is provided, that nothinge touchinge the common wealthe shal be confirmed and ratified, onlesse it have bene reasoned of and debated thre daies in the counsell, before it be decreed. It is deathe to have anye consultation for the common wealthe oute of the counsell, or the place of the common election.

Sutes and controversies betwene partie and partie furthwith to be ended which now a daies of a set purpose be unreasonably delaied.

Against hastie and rash decries or statutes.

This statute, they saye, was made to the entent that the prince and tranibores might not easilye conspire together to appresse the people by tyrannie, and to chaunge the state of the weale publik. Therfore matters of great weight and importance be broughte to the election house of the siphograuntes, which open the matter to their families. And afterwarde, when they have consulted amonge themselves, they shew their devise to the counsell. Somtime the matter is brought before the counsel of the whole ilande. Furthermore this custome also the counsel useth, to dispute or reason of no matter the same daye that it is firste proposed or put furthe, but to defferre it to the nexte syttinge of the counsell. Because that no man when he hath rashely there spoken that commeth to his tonges ende, shall then afterwarde rather studye for reasons wherwith to defende and mainteine his first folish sentence, than for the commoditie of the common wealth: as one rather

A custome worthye to be used these daies in our counsels and parliamentes.

willing the harme or hindraunce of the weale publike then any losse or diminution of his owne existimation. And as one that would be ashamed (which is a verie folishe shame) to be counted anye thing at the firste oversene in the matter. Who at the first ought to have spoken rather wyselye, then hastely, or rashlye.

Of Sciences, Craftes and Ocupations.

Husbandrie or tillage practised of all estates, which now a dayes is reject unto a fewe of the basest sort.

HUsbandrie is a science common to them all in generall, bothe men and women, wherein they be all experte and cunning. In this they be all instructe even from their youth: partelie in their scholes with traditions and preceptes, and partlie in the countrey nighe the citie, brought up as it were in playinge, not onely beholding the use of it, but by occasion of exercising their bodies practising it also. Besides husbandrie, whiche (as I saide) is common to them all, everye one of them learneth one or other several and particular science, as his owne proper crafte. That is most commonly either clothworking in wol or flaxe, or masonrie, or the smithes craft, or the carpenters science. For there is none other occupation that any number to speake of doth use there. For their garmentes, which throughoute all the ilande be of one fashion, (savynge that there is a difference betwene the mans

Siences or occupations should be learned for necessities sake, and not for the mayntenaunce of riotous excesse and wanton pleasure.

Similitude in apparell.

garmente and the womans, betwene the maried and the unmaried) and this one continueth for evermore unchaunged, semely and comelie to the eye, no lette to the movynge and weldynge of the bodye, also fytte both for wynter and summer: as for these garmentes (I saye) every familie maketh their owne. But of the other foresaide craftes everye man learneth one. And not onely the men, but also the women. But the women, as the weaker sort, be put to the easier craftes: as to worke wolle and flaxe. The more laborsome sciences be committed to the men. For the mooste part every man is broughte up in his fathers crafte.

No citizein without a science.

For moste commonlye they be naturallie therto bente and inclined. But yf a mans minde stande to anye other, he is by adoption put into a familye of that occupation, which he doth most fantasy. Whome not onely his father, but also the magistrates do diligently loke to, that he be put to a discrete and an honest householder. Yea, and if anye person, when he hath learned one crafte, be desierous to learne also another, he is likewyse suffred and permitted.

To what occupation everyone is naturallie inclined that let him learne.

When he hathe learned bothe, he occupieth whether he wyll: onelesse the citie have more neade of the one, then of the other. The chiefe and almooste the onelye offyce of the syphograuntes is, to see and take hede, that no manne sit idle: but that everye one applye hys owne craft with earnest diligence. And yet for all that, not to be wearied from earlie in the morninge, to late in the evenninge, with continuall worke, like labouringe and toylinge beastes.

Idel persones to be driven out of the weale publique.

For this is worse then the miserable and wretched condition of bondemen. Whiche nevertheles is almooste everye where the lyfe of workemen and artificers, saving in

Utopia.

For they dividynge the daye and the nyghte into xxiiii. juste houres, appointe and assigne onelye sixe of those houres to woorke before noone, upon the whiche they go streighte to diner: and after diner, when they have rested two houres, then they worke iii. houres and upon that they go to supper. Aboute eyghte of the cloke in the eveninge (countinge one of the clocke at the firste houre after noone) they go to bedde: eyght houres they geve to slepe. All the voide time, that is betwene the houres of worke, slepe, and meate, that they be suffered to bestowe, every man as he liketh best him selfe. Not to thintent that they shold mispend this time in riote or slouthfulnes: but beynge then licensed from the laboure of their owne occupations, to bestow the time well and thriftelye upon some other science, as shall please them. For it is a solempne custome there, to have lectures daylye early in the morning, where to be presente they onely be constrained that be namelye chosen and appoynted to learninge. Howbeit a greate multitude of every sort of people, both men and women go to heare lectures, some one and some an other, as everye mans nature is inclined. Yet, this notwithstanding, if any man had rather bestowe this time upon his owne occupation, (as it chaunceth in manye, whose mindes rise not in the contemplation of any science liberall) he is not letted, nor prohibited, but is also praysed and commended, as profitable to the common wealthe. After supper they bestow one houre in playe: in summer in their gardens: in winter in their commen halles: where they dine and suppe. There they exercise themselves in musike, or els in honest and wholsome communication. Diceplaye, and suche other folishe and pernicious games they know not. But they use ij. games not much

A moderation in the laboure and toyle of artificers.

The studie of good literature.

Playing after supper.

unlike the chesse. The one is the battell of numbers, wherein one numbre stealethe awaye another. The other is wherin vices fyghte with vertues, as it were in battel array, or a set fyld.

But now adaies diceplay is the pastime of princes.

In the which game is verye properlye shewed, bothe the striffe and discorde that vices have amonge themselfes, and agayne theire unitye and concorde againste vertues. And also what vices be repugnaunt to what vertues: with what powre and strength they assaile them openlye: by what wieles and subtelty they assaulte them secretelye: with what helpe and aide the vertues resiste and overcome the puissaunce of the vices: by what craft they frustrate their purposes: and finally by what sleight or meanes the one getteth the victory. But here least you be deceaved, one thinge you muste looke more narrowly upon. For seinge they bestowe but vi. houres in woorke, perchaunce you maye thinke that the lacke of some necessarye thinges hereof maye ensewe. But this is nothinge so. For that smal time is not only enough but also to muche for the stoore and abundaunce of all thinges that be requisite, either for the necessitie, or commoditie of life. The which thinge you also shall perceave, if you weye and consider with your selfes how great a parte of the people in other contreis lyveth ydle.

Plaies or games also profitable.

The kyndes and sortes of ydle people.

First almost all women, whyche be the halfe of the whole numbre: or els if the women be somewhere occupied, there most comonlye in their steade the men be ydle. Besydes this how greate, and howe ydle a companye is there of preystes, and relygious men, as they cal them? put thereto al ryche men, speciallye all landed men, which comonlye be called gentilmen, and noble men. Take into this numbre also theire servauntes: I meane all

Women.

Priestes and religious men.

Riche men and landed men.

Servyngmen.

Sturdy and valiaunt beggers.

Wonderfull wittely spoken.

that flocke of stoute bragging russhe bucklers. Joyne to them also sturdy and valiaunte beggers, clokinge their idle lyfe under the coloure of some disease or sickenes. And trulye you shal find them much fewer then you thought, by whose labour all these thinges are wrought, that in mens affaires are now daylye used and frequented. Nowe consyder with youre selfe, of these fewe that doe woorke, how fewe be occupied, in necessarye woorkes. For where money beareth all the swinge, there many vayne and superfluous occupations must nedes be used, to serve only for ryotous superfluite, and unhonest pleasure. For the same multitude that now is occupied in woork, if they were devided into so fewe occupations as the necessarye use of nature requyreth; in so greate plentye of thinges as then of necessity woulde ensue, doubtles the prices wolde be to lytle for the artifycers to maynteyne theire livinges. But yf all these, that be nowe busied about unprofitable occupations, with all the whole flocke of them that lyve ydellye and slouthfullye, whyche consume and waste everye one of them more of these thinges that come by other mens laboure, then ij. of the workemen themselfes doo: yf all these (I saye) were sette to profytable occupatyons, you easelye perceave howe lytle tyme would be enoughe, yea and to muche to stoore us with all thinges that maye be requisite either for necessitie, or for commoditye, yea or for pleasure, so that the same pleasure be trewe and natural. And this in Utopia the thinge it selfe makethe manifeste and playne. For there in all the citye, with the whole contreye, or shiere adjoyning to it scaselye 500. persons of al the whole numbre of men and women, that be neither to olde, nor to weake to worke, be licensed and discharged from laboure. Amonge them be the sipho-

grauntes (whoe thoughe they be by the lawes exempte and privileged from labour) yet they exempte not themselfes: to the intent that they may the rather by their example provoke other to worke. The same vacation from labour do they also enjoye, to whome the people persuaded by the commendation of the priestes, and secrete election of the siphograuntes, have geven a perpetual licence from laboure to learninge. But if any one of them prove not accordinge to the expectation and hoope of him conceaved, he is forthwith plucked backe to the company of artificers. And contrarye wise, often it chaunceth that a handicraftes man doth so earnestly bestowe his vacaunte and spare houres in learninge, and throughe diligence so profyteth therin, that he is taken from his handy occupation, and promoted to the company of the learned. Oute of this ordre of the learned be chosen ambassadours, priestes, tranibores, and finallye the prince him selfe. Whome they in theire olde tonge cal Barzanes, and by a newer name, Adamus. The residewe of the people being neither ydle, nor yet occupied about unprofitable exercises, it may be easely judged in how fewe houres how muche good woorke by them may be doone and dispatched, towardes those thinges that I have spoken of. This commodity they have also above other, that in the most part of necessarye occupations they neade not so much work, as other nations doe. For first of all the buildinge or repayringe of houses asketh everye where so manye mens continual labour, bicause that the unthrifty heire suffereth the houses that his father buylded in contyneuaunce of tyme to fall in decay. So that which he myghte have upholden wyth lytle coste, hys successoure is constreyned to buylde it agayne a newe, to his great charge. Yea manye

Not asmuche as the magistrates live idelly.

Onely learned men called to offices.

How to avoyd excessive cost in building.

tymes also the howse that stoode one man in muche moneye, another is of so nyce and soo delycate a mynde, that he settethe nothinge by it. And it beynge neglected, and therefore shortelye fallynge into ruyne, he buyldethe uppe another in an other place with no lesse coste and chardge. But amonge the Utopians, where all thinges be sett in a good ordre, and the common wealthe in a good staye, it very seldom chaunceth, that they cheuse a newe plotte to buyld an house upon. And they doo not only finde spedy and quicke remedies for present faultes: but also prevente them that be like to fall. And by this meanes their houses continewe and laste very longe with litle labour and smal reparations: in so much that this kind of woorkmen somtimes have almost nothinge to doo. But that they be commaunded to hewe timbre at home, and to square and trimme up stones, to the intente that if anye woorke chaunce, it may the spedelier rise. Now, syr, in theire apparell, marke (I praye you) howe few woorkmen they neade. Fyrste of al, whyles they be at woorke, they be covered homely with leather or skinnes, that will last vii. yeares. When they go furthe abrode they caste upon them a cloke, whych hydeth the other homelye apparel. These clookes through out the whole iland be all of one coloure, and that is the natural coloure of the wul. They therefore do not only spend much lesse wullen clothe then is spente in other contreis, but also the same standeth them in muche lesse coste. But lynen clothe is made with lesse laboure, and is therefore hadde more in use. But in lynen cloth onlye whytenesse, in wullen only clenlynes is regarded. As for the smalnesse or finenesse of the threde, that is no thinge passed for. And this is the cause wherfore in other places iiii. or v. clothe gownes of dyvers coloures, and as manye silke cootes

How to lessen the charge in apparel.

be not enoughe for one man. Yea and yf he be of the delicate and nyse sorte x. be to fewe: whereas there one garmente wyl serve a man mooste commenlye ij. yeares. For whie shoulde he desyre moo? Seinge yf he had them, he should not be the better hapte or covered from colde, neither in his apparel anye whitte the comlyer. Wherefore, seinge they be all exercysed in profitable occupations, and that fewe artificers in the same craftes be sufficiente, this is the cause that plentye of all thinges beinge among them, they doo sometymes bringe forthe an innumerable companye of people to amend the hyghe wayes, yf anye be broken. Many times also, when they have no suche woorke to be occupied aboute, an open proclamation is made, that they shall bestowe fewer houres in worke. For the magistrates doe not exercise theire citizens againste theire willes in unneadefull laboures. For whie in the institution of that weale publique, this ende is onelye and chiefely pretended and mynded, that what time maye possibly be spared from the necessarye occupacions and affayres of the commen wealth, all that the citizeins shoulde withdrawe from the bodely service to the free libertye of the minde, and garnisshinge of the same. For herein they suppose the felicitye of this liffe to consiste.

¶ Of theire liuinge and mutual conuersation together.

BUt nowe wil I declare how the citizens use them selfes one towardes another: what familiar occupieng and enterteynement there is amonge the people, and what fassion they use in the distribution of every thing. Firste the city consisteth of familles, the families most commonlye be made of kinredes. For the women, when they be maryed at a lawefull age, they goo into theire husbandes houses. But the male children with al the whole male ofspringe continewe still in their owne family and be governed of the eldest and auncientest father, onles he dote for age: for then the next to him in age is placed in his rowme. But to thintent the prescript number of the citezens shoulde neither decrease, nor above measure increase, it is ordeined that no familie which in every citie be vi. thousand in the whole, besydes them of the contrey, shall at ones have fewer children of the age of xiiii. yeares or there about then x. or mo then xvi. for of children under this age no numbre can be prescribed or appointed. This measure or numbre is easely observed and kept, by putting them that in fuller families be above the number into families of smaller increase. But if chaunce be that in the whole citie the stoore increase above the just number, therewith they fil up the lacke of other cities. But if so be that the multitude throughout the whole ilande passe and excede the dewe number, then they chuese out of every citie certein citezens, and build up a towne under their owne lawes in the next land where the in-

The numbre of citizens.

habitauntes have muche waste and unoccupied ground, receaving also of the same countrey people to them, if they wil joyne and dwel with them. They thus joyning and dwelling together do easelye agre in one fassion of living, and that to the great wealth of both the peoples. For they so bringe the matter about by theire lawes, that the ground which before was neither good nor profitable for the one nor for the other, is nowe sufficiente and fruteful enoughe for them both. But if the inhabitauntes of that lande wyl not dwell with them to be ordered by their lawes, then they dryve them out of those boundes which they have limited, and apointed out for them selves. And if they resiste and rebel, then they make warre agaynst them. For they counte this the moste juste cause of warre, when anye people holdethe a piece of grounde voyde and vacaunt to no good nor profitable use, kepyng other from the use and possession of it, whiche notwithstandyng by the lawe of nature ought thereof to be nouryshed and relieved. If anye chaunce do so muche diminishe the number of any of theire cities, that it cannot be fylled up agayne, without the diminishynge of the just numbre of the other cyties (whiche they say chaunced but twyse synce the beginnyng of the lande throughe a greate pestilente plage) then they fulfyll and make up the numbre with cytezens fetched out of theire owne forreyne townes, for they had rather suffer theire forreyne townes to decaye and peryshe, then any cytie of theire owne ilande to be diminished. But nowe agayne to the conversation of the cytezens amonge themselfes. The eldeste (as I sayde) rulethe the familye. The wyfes bee ministers to theire husbandes, the children to theire parentes, and to bee shorte the yonger to theire elders. Every cytie is devided into foure equall partes or quarters. In the

So might we well be discharged and eased of the ydle companyof servyngmen.

myddes of every quarter there is a market place of all maner of thinges. Thether the workes of every familie be brought into certeyne houses. And everye kynde of thing is layde up severall in bernes or store houses. From hence the father of everye familye, or every housholder fetchethe whatsoever he and his have neade of, and carieth it away with him without money, without exchaunge, without any gage, pawne, or pledge. For whye shoulde any thing be denyed unto him? Seynge there is abundaunce of all thinges, and that it is not to bee feared, leste anye man wyll aske more then he neadeth. For whie should it be thoughte that that man woulde aske more then anough, which is sewer never to lacke? Certeynely in all kyndes of lyvinge creatures either feare of lacke dothe cause covetousnes and ravyne, or in man only pryde, which counteth it a glorious thinge to passe and excel other in the superfluous and vayne ostentation of thinges. The whyche kynde of vice amonge the Utopians can have no place. Nexte to the market places that I spake of, stande meate markettes: whether be brought not only all sortes of herbes, and the fruites of trees, with breade, but also fishe, and all maner of iiii. footed beastes, and wilde foule that be mans meate. But first the fylthynes and ordure therof is clene washed awaye in the renninge ryver without the cytie in places appoynted mete for the same purpose. From thence the beastes be brought in kylled, and cleane wasshed by the handes of theire bondemen. For they permitte not their frie citezens to accustome them selfes to the killing of beastes, through the use whereof they thinke clemencye, the genteleste affection of oure nature, by lytle and lytle to decaye and peryshe. Neither they suffer anye thinge that is fylthye, lothesom, or unclenlye, to be broughte

The cause of coveteus and extortion.

Of the slaughter of beastes we have learned manslaughter.

into the cytie, least the ayre by the stenche therof infected and corrupte, shoulde cause pestilente diseases. Moreover everye strete hath certeyne great large halles sett in equal distaunce one from another, everye one knowen by a severall name. In these halles dwell the syphograuntes. And to everye one of the same halles be apoynted xxx. families, on either side xv. The stewardes of everye halle at a certayne houre come in to the meate markettes, where they receyve meate accordinge to the number of their halles. But first and chieflie of all, respect is had to the sycke, that be cured in the hospitalles. For in the circuite of the citie, a litle without the walles, they have iiii. hospitalles, so bigge so wyde. so ample, and so large, that they may seme iiii. litle townes, which were devised of that bignes partely to thintent the sycke, be they never so many in numbre, shuld not lye to thronge or strayte, and therefore uneasely and incommodiously: and partely that they which were taken and holden with contagious diseases, suche as be wonte by infection to crepe from one to another, myght be layde apart farre from the company of the residue. These hospitalles be so wel appointed, and with al thinges necessary to health so furnished, and more over so diligent attendaunce through the continual presence of cunning phisitians is geven, that though no man be sent thether against his will, yet notwithstandinge there is no sicke persone in al the citie, that had not rather lye there, then at home in his owne house. When the stewarde of the sicke hath received suche meates as the phisitians have prescribed, then the beste is equallye devided among the halles, according to the company of every one, saving that there is had a respect to the prince, the byshop, the tranibours, and to ambassadours and all

Fylth and ordure bring the infection of pestilence into Cyties.

Care, diligence and attendance about the sicke.

straungers, if there be any, which be verye fewe and seldome. But they also when they be there, have certeyne severall houses apointed and prepared for them. To these halles at the set houres of dinner and supper commeth all the whole siphograuntie or warde, warned by the noyse of a brasen trumpet: except suche as be sicke in the hospitalles, or els in their owne houses. Howbeit no man is prohibited or forbid, after the halles be served, to fetch home meate out of the market to his own house, For they knowe that no man wyl doe it without a cause reasonable. For thoughe no man be prohibited to dyne at home, yet no man doth it willyngly: because it is counted a pointe of smal honestie. And also it were a follye to take the payne to dresse a badde diner at home, when they may be welcome to good and fyne fare so neighe hande at the hall. In this hal al vile service, all slavery, and drudgerie, with all laboursome toyle, and base busines is done by bondemen. But the women of every family by course have the office and charge of cookerie for sethinge and dressinge the meate, and orderinge all thinges therto belongyng. They sit at three tables or moe, accordinge to the numbre of their company. The men sitte upon the bench next the wall, and the women againste them on the other side of the table, that yf anye sodeyne evyll should chaunce to them, as many tymes happeneth to women with chylde, they maye rise wythoute trouble or disturbaunce ot anye bodie, and go thence into the nurcerie. The nurceis sitte severall alone with theyr younge suckelinges in a certaine parloure appointed and deputed to the same purpose, never withoute fire and cleane water, nor yet without cradels, that when they wyll they maye laye downe the younge infantes, and at theyr pleasure take them

Every man is at his libertie so that nothing is done by compulsion.

Women bothe dresse and serve the meate.

Nourceis.

oute of their swathynge clothes, and holde them to the fire, and refreshe them with playe. Every mother is nource to her owne childe, onles either death, or sycknes be the let. When that chaunceth, the wives of the syphograuntes quyckelye provyde a nource. And that is not harde to be done. For they that can doo it, profer themselves to no service so gladlye as to that. Because that there thys kinde of pitie is muche praysed: and the chylde that is nourished, ever after taketh his nource for his owne naturall mother. Also amonge the nourceis sytte all the children that be under the age of v. yeares. All the other chyldren of bothe kyndes, as well boyes as girles, that be under the age of maryage, do eyther serve at the tables, or els if they be to yonge therto, yet they stand by with marvailous silence. That whiche is geven to them from the table they eate, and other several dynner tyme they have none. The siphograunte and his wife sitte in the myddes of the high table, forasmuch as that is counted the honorablest place, and because from thence all the whole companie is in their sight. For that table standeth over wharte the over ende of the hall. To them be joyned two of the auncientest and eldest. For at everye table they sit foure at a meesse. But yf there be a church standing in that syphograuntie or warde, then the priest and his wife sitteth with the siphograunt, as chiefe in the company. On both sydes of them sit yonge men, and nexte unto them againe olde men. And thus through out all the house equall of age be sette together, and yet be mixt and matched with unequal ages. This, they say, was ordeyned, to the intent that the sage gravitie and reverence of the elders should kepe the yongers from wanton licence of wordes and behavioure. Forasmuch as

Nothing soner provoketh men to well doyng then praise and commendation.

The education of yonge children.

The yong mixed with their elders.

nothynge can be so secretlye spoken or done at the table, but either they that sit on the one side or on the other muste nedes perceave it. The dishes be not set down in order from the first place but all the olde men (whose places be marked with some speciall token to be knowen) be first served of their meate, and then the residue equally. The old men devide their deinties as they think best to the yonger on eche syde of them.

Olde men regarded and reverenced.

Thus the elders be not defrauded of their dewe honoure, and neverthelesse equall commoditie commeth to every one. They begin everye dinner and supper of redinge sumthing that perteneth to good maners and vertue. But it is shorte, because no man shal be greved therwith. Hereof thelders take occasion of honest communication, but neither sadde nor unpleasaunt. Howbeit they do not spende all the whole dinertime themselves with longe and tedious talkes: but they gladly heare also the yonge men: yea, and purposelye provoke them to talke, to thintent that they may have a profe of every mans wit, and towardnes, or disposition to vertue, which commonlie in the libertie of feasting doth shew and utter it self. Their diners be verie short: but their suppers be sumwhat longer, because that after dyner foloweth laboure, after supper slepe and natural reste, whiche they thinke to be of more strength and efficacie to wholsome and healthfull digestion. No supper is passed without musicke. Nor their bankettes lacke no conceytes nor jonketes. They burne swete gummes and spices or perfumes, and pleasaunt smelles, and sprinckle aboute swete oyntementes and waters, yea, they leave nothing undone that maketh for the cheringe

This nowe a daies is observed in oure universities.

Talke at the table.

This is repugnaunt to the opinion of our phisitions.

Musicke at the table.

of the companye. For they be muche enclined to this opinion: to thinke no kinde of pleasure forbydden, whereof commeth no harme. Thus therfore and after this sort they live togethers in the citie, but in the countrey they that dwell alone farre from any neighboures, do dyne and suppe at home in their owne houses. For no familie there lacketh any kinde of victualles, as from whom commeth all that the citezens eate and lyve by.

Pleasure without harme not discommendable.

¶ Of their iourneyng or trauaylíng abrode, with diuers other matters cunninglye reasoned, and wyttilye discussed.

BUt if any be desierous to visite either theyr frendes dwelling in an other citie, or to see the place it selfe: they easelie obteyne licence of their siphograuntes and tranibores, onlesse there be some profitable let. No man goeth out alone but a companie is sente furth together with their princes letters, which do testifie that they have licence to go that journey, and prescribeth also the day of their retourne. They have a wageyn geven them, with a common bondman, which driveth the oxen, and taketh charge of them. But onles they have women in their companie, they sende home the wageyn againe, as an impediment and a let. And thoughe they

carye nothynge furth with them, yet in all their jorney they lack nothing. For whersoever they come, they be at home. If they tary in a place longer then one daye, than there every one of them falleth to his owne occupation, and be very gentilly enterteined of the workemen and companies of the same craftes. If any man of his owne heade and without leave, walke out of his precinct and boundes, taken without the princes letters, he is broughte againe for a fugitive or a runaway with great shame and rebuke, and is sharpely punished. If he be taken in that fault againe, he is punished with bondage. If anye be desirous to walke abrode into the feldes, or into the countrey that belongeth to the same citie that he dwelleth in, obteininge the good wil of his father, and the consente of his wife, he is not prohibited. But into what part of the contrei soever he commeth he hath no meat geven him until he have wrought out his forenones taske, or dispatched so muche work, as there is wont to be wrought before supper. Observing this law and condition, he may go whether he wil within the boundes of his own citie. For he shal be no les profitable to the citie, then if he were within it. Now you se how litle liberte they have to loiter: howe they can have no cloke or pretence to ydlenes. There be neither winetavernes, nor ale houses, nor stewes, nor anye occasion of vice or wickednes, no lurkinge corners, no places of wycked counsels or unlawfull assembles. But they be in the presente sighte, and under the eies of every man. So that of necessitie they must either apply their accustomed labours, or els recreate themselves with honest and laudable pastimes.

O holy common wealth, and of Christians to be folowed.

This fashion and trade of life, being used amonge the people, it cannot be chosen, but that they muste of necessitie have store and plentie of all thinges. And seyng they be

all therof parteners equallie, therefore can no man there be poore or nedie. In the counsell of Amaurot, whether, as I said, every citie sendeth three men a pece yearly, as sone as it is perfectly knowen of what thinges there is in every place plentie, and againe what thinges be skant in any place: incontinent the lacke of the one is perfourmed and filled up with the aboundance of the other. And this they do frely without anye benefite, taking nothing againe of them, to whom the thinges is given, but those cities that have geven of their store to any other citie that lacketh, requiring nothing againe of the same citie, do take suche thinges as they lacke of an other citie, to the which they gave nothinge. So the whole ylande is as it were one familie, or housholde. But when they have made sufficient provision of store for themselves (which they thinke not done, until they have provided for two yeres folowinge, because of the uncertentie of the next yeares proffe) then of those thinges, wherof they have abundaunce, they carie furth into other countreis great plentie: as grayne, honnie, wulle, flaxe, woode, madder, purple died felles, waxe, tallowe, lether, and lyvinge beastes. And the seventh parte of all these thynges they geve franckelye and frelie to the pore of that countrey. The residewe they sell at a reasonable and meane price. By this trade of traffique or marchaundise, they bring into their own contrey, not only great plenty of golde and silver, but also all suche thynges as they lacke at home, whiche is almoste nothinge but iron. And by reason they have longe used this trade, nowe they have more aboundaunce of these thinges, then anye man wyll beleve. Nowe therfore they care not whether they sell for readye money, or els upon truste

Equalitie is the cause that every man hath enoughe.

A common wealthe is nothing elles but a great household.

The traffique and marchaundise of the Utopians.

to be payed at a daye, and to have the moste parte in debtes. But in all thinges they never followe the credence of private men: but the assuraunce or warrauntise of the whole citie, by instrumentes and writinges made in that behalfe accordinglye. When the daye of paiement is come and expired, the citie gathereth up the debte of the private debtoures, and putteth it into the common boxe, and so longe hath the use and profite of it, untill the Utopians their creditours demaunde it. The moste parte of it they never aske. For that thynge whiche is to them no profite to take it from other, to whom it is profitable: they thinke it no righte nor conscience. But if the case so stande, that they must lende parte of that money to an other people, then they require theyr debte: or when they have warre. For the whiche purpose onelye they kepe at home al the treasure, whiche they have, to be holpen and socoured by it either in extreame jeopardyes, or in suddeine daungers. But especiallye and chiefelye to hiere therewith, and that for unreasonable greate wages, straunge soldiours. For they hadde rather put straungers in jeopardie, then theyr owne countreymen: knowinge that for money ynoughe, their enemyes themselves many times may be bought or solde, or elles through treason be sette togethers by the eares amonge themselves. For this cause they kepe an inestimable treasure. But yet not as a treasure: but so they have it, and use it, as in good faith I am ashamed to shewe: fearinge that my woordes shal not be beleved. And this I have more cause to feare, for that I knowe howe difficultlie and hardelye I meselfe would have beleved an other man tellinge the

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same, if I hadde not presentlye sene it with mine owne eyes.

For it muste neades be, that howe farre a thynge is dissonaunt and disagreing from the guise and trade of the hearers, so farre shall it be out of their belefe. Howebeit, a wise and indifferent estimer of thynges will not greatlye marveill perchaunce, seynge all theyr other lawes and customes do so muche differre from oures, yf the use also of gold and sylver amonge them be applied, rather to their owne fashyons than to oures. I meane in that they occupie not money themselves, but kepe it for that chaunce, whiche as it maye happen, so it maye be that it shall never come to passe. In the meane time golde and sylver, whereof money is made, they do so use, as none of them doethe more esteme it, then the verye nature of the thing deserveth. And then who doeth not playnelye se howe farre it is under iron: as without the whiche men can no better lyve then without fiere and water. Whereas to golde and silver nature hath geven no use, that we may not well lacke: if that the follye of men hadde not sette it in higher estimation for the rarenesse sake. But of the contrarie parte, nature as a mooste tender and lovynge mother, hathe placed the beste and mooste necessarie thinges open abroade: as the ayere, the water and the yearth it selfe. And hathe removed and hyd farthest from us vayne and unprofitable thinges. Therefore if these metalles amonge them shoulde be faste locked up in some tower, it might be suspected, that the prince and the counsell (as the people is ever foolishelie ymagininge) intended by some subtiltie to deceave the commons, and to take some profite of it to themselves. Furthermore if they shold make therof plate and such other finelie and cun-

Golde worse then yron as touchynge the necessarie use therof.

ninglie wroughte stuffe: if at anye time they should have occasion to breake it, and melte it againe, therewith to paye their souldiers wages, they see and perceave verye well, that men woulde be lothe to parte from those thinges, that they ones begonne to have pleasure and delite in. To remedie all this they have founde oute a meanes, whiche, as it is agreable to all their other lawes and customes, so it is from ours, where golde is so much set by and so diligently kept, very farre discripant and repugnaunt: and therfore uncredible, but onelye to them that be wise. For where as they eate and drinke in earthen and glasse vesselles, whiche in dede be curiouslye and properlie made, and yet be of very small value: of golde and sylver they make commonly chaumber pottes, and other vesselles, that serve for moste vile uses, not onely in their common halles, but in every mans private house. Furthermore of the same mettalles they make greate chaines, fetters, and gieves wherin the[y] tie their bondmen. Finally whosoever for anye offense be infamed, by their eares hange rynges of golde, upon their fyngers they weare rynges of golde, and aboute their neckes chaines of golde, and in conclusion their heades be tied aboute with gold. Thus by al meanes possible thei procure to have golde and silver among them in reproche and infamie. And these mettalles, which other nations do as grevously and sorowefullye forgo, as in a manner their owne lives: if they should altogethers at ones be taken from the Utopians, no man there would thinke that he had lost the worth of one farthing. They gather also pearles by the sea side, and diamondes and carbuncles upon certen rockes, and yet they seke not for them: but by chaunce finding them, they cut and polish them. And therwith thei

O wonderfull contumelie of golde.

Golde the reprochful badge of infamed persons.

deck their yonge infauntes. Whiche like as in the first yeres of their childhod, they make muche and be fonde and proude of such ornamentes, so when they be a litle more growen in yeares and discretion, perceiving that none but children do weare such toies and trifels: they lay them awaye even of their owne shamefastenesse, wythoute anye byddynge of their parentes: even as oure chyldren, when they waxe bygge, doo caste awaye nuttes, brouches, and puppettes. Therfore these lawes and customes, whiche be so farre differente from al other nations, howe divers fantasies also and myndes they doo cause, dydde I never so playnelie perceave, as in the ambassadoures of the Anemolians.

Gemmes and preciousstones, toyes for yonge children to playe withall.

These ambassadoures came to Amaurote whiles I was there. And because they came to entreate of great and weightie matters, those three citizens a pece oute of everie citie were comen thether before them. But all the ambassadours of the nexte countreis, whiche had bene there before, and knewe the fashions and maners of the Utopians, amonge whom they perceaved no honoure geven to sumptuous apparell, silkes to be contemned, golde also to be infamed and reprochful, were wont to come thether in verie homelye and simple araie. But the Anemolianes, because they dwell farre thence and had very litle aquaintaunce with them, hearinge that they were all apparelled a like, and that verie rudely and homely: thinkinge them not to have the thinges whiche they did not weare: being therfore more proude, then wise: determyned in the gorgiousnes of their apparel to represente verye goddes, and wyth the brighte shyninge and glisterynge of their gay clothing to dasell the eyes of the silie poore Utopians. So there came in iii. ambassadours with c. servauntes all apparelled in chaunge-

A very pleasaunt tale.

diuers colours: the moste of them in silkes: the ambassadours themselues (for at home in their owne countrey they were noble men) in clothe of gold, with great cheines of gold, with golde hanginge at their eares, with gold ringes upon their fingers, with brouches and aglettes of gold upon their cappes, which glistered ful of peerles and precious stones: to be short, trimmed and adourned with al those thinges, which among the Utopians were either the punishement of bondmen, or the reproche of infamed persones, or elles trifels for yonge children to playe withal. Therefore it wolde haue done a man good at his harte to haue sene howe proudelye they displeyed theire pecockes fethers, howe muche they made of theire paynted sheathes, and howe loftely they set forth and aduaunced them selfes, when they compared their gallaunte apparell with the poore rayment of the Utopians. For al the people were swarmed forth into the stretes. And on the other side it was no lesse pleasure to consider howe muche they were deceaved, and how farre they missed of their purpose, being contrary wayes taken then they thought they should haue bene. For to the eyes of all the Utopians, excepte very fewe, which had bene in other countreys for some resonable cause, all that gorgeousnes of apparrel semed shamefull and reprochefull. In so muche that they most reverently saluted the vilest and most abiect of them for lordes: passing over the ambassadoures themselfes without any honour: judging them by their wearing of golden cheynes to be bondmen. Yea you shoulde haue sene children also, that had caste away their peerles and pretious stones, when they sawe the like sticking upon the ambassadours cappes, digge and pushe theire mothers under the sides, sainge thus to them. Loke, mother, how great a lubbor doth

A wittie head.

yet were peerles and precious stoones, as though he were a litel child stil. But the mother, yea and that also in good earnest: peace, sone, saithe she: I thinke he be some of the ambassadours fooles. Some founde faulte at theire golden cheines, as to no use nor purpose, being so smal and weake, that a bondeman might easely breake them, and agayne so wyde and large, that when it pleased him, he myght cast them of, and runne awaye at libertye whether he woulde. But when the ambassadoures hadde bene there a daye or ii. and sawe so greate abundaunce of gold so lyghtely esteimed, yea in no lesse reproche, then it was with them in honour: and besides that more golde in the cheines and gieves of one fugitive bondman, then all the costelye ornaments of them iii. was worth: they beganne to abate their courage, and for very shame layde away al that gorgyouse arraye, whereof they were so proud. And specyally when they had talked familiarlye with the Utopians, and had learned al theire fassions and opinions.

Doubteful he calleth it, either in consideration and respecte of counterfeite stones, or elles he calleth doubteful very littel worthe.

For they marveyle that any men be so folyshe, as to have delite and pleasure in the doubteful glisteringe of a lytil tryffelynge stone, which maye beholde annye of the starres, or elles the sonne it selfe. Or that anye man is so madde, as to count him selfe the nobler for the smaller or fyner threde of wolle, which selfe same wol (be it now in never so fyne a sponne threde) a shepe did ones weare: and yet was she all that time no other thing then a shepe. They marveile also that golde, whych of the owne nature is a thinge so unprofytable, is nowe amonge all people in so hyghe estimation, that man him selfe, by whome, yea and for the use of whome it is so much set by, is in muche lesse estimation, then the golde it selfe. In so muche that a lumpyshe blockehedded

A true saing and a wittie.

churle, and whycle hathe no more wytte then an asse, yea and as ful of noughtynes as of follye, shall have nevertheles manye wyse and good men in subjectyon and bondage, only for this, bycause he hath a greate heape of golde. Whyche yf it shoulde be taken from hym by anye fortune, or by some subtyll wyle and cautele of the lawe, (whyche no lesse then fortune dothe bothe raise up the lowe and plucke downe the highe) and be geven to the moste vile slave and abject dryvell of all his housholde, then shortely after he shal goo into the service of his servaunt, as an augmentation or overplus beside his money. But they muche more marvell at and detest the madnes of them, whyche to those riche men, in whose debte and daunger they be not, do give almost divine honoures, for none other consideration, but bicause they be riche: and yet knowing them to bee suche nigeshe penny fathers, that they be sure as longe as they live, not the worthe of one farthinge of that heape of gold shall come to them.

Howe muche more witte is in the heades of the Utopianes then of the common sorte of Christianes.

These and such like opinions have they conceaved, partely by education, beinge brought up in that common wealth, whose lawes and customes be farre different from these kindes of folly, and partely by good litterature and learning. For though there be not many in every citie, which be exempte and discharged of all other laboures, and appointed only to learning; that is to saye, suche in whome even from theire very childhode they have perceaved a singular towardnes, a fyne witte, and a minde apte to good learning: yet all in their childhode be instructe in learninge. And the better parte of the people, bothe men and women throughe oute all their whole lyffe doo bestowe in learninge those spare houres, which we sayde

they have vacante from bodelye laboures. They be taughte learninge in theire owne natyve tong. For it is bothe copious in woordes, and also pleasaunte to the eare, and for the utteraunce of a mans minde very perfecte and sure. The mooste parte of all that syde of the wordle useth the same langage, savinge that amonge the Utopians it is fyneste and pureste, and accordinge to the dyversytye of the countreys it is dyverslye alterede. Of all these philosophers, whose names be heare famous in this parte of the worlde to us knowen, before oure cummynge thether not as muche as the fame of annye of them was cumen amonge them. And yet in musike, logike, arythmetyke, and geometrye they have founde oute in a manner all that oure auncient philosophers have tawghte. But as they in all thinges be almoste equal to oure olde auncyente clerkes, so oure newe logiciens in subtyl inventions have farre passed and gone beyonde them. For they have not devysed one of all those rules of restrictions, amplifications and suppositions, verye wittelye invented in the small logicalles, whyche heare oure children in every place do learne. Furtheremore they were never yet hable to fynde out the seconde intentions: insomuche that none of them all coulde ever see man himselfe in commen, as they cal him, thoughe he be (as you knowe) bygger than ever was annye gyaunte, yea and poynted to of us even wyth our fynger. But they be in the course of the starres, and the movynges of the heavenly spheres verye expert and cunnynge. They have also wittely excogitated and divised instrumentes of divers fassions: wherein is exactly comprehended and conteyned the movynges and situations of the sonne, the

The studies and literature amonge the Utopianes.

Musike. Logike. Arithmetike. Geometrie.

In this place semethe to be a nipping taunte.

Astronomie.

mone, and of al the other starres, which appere in theire horizon. But as for the amityes and dissentions of the planettes, and the whole deceytefull divination by the starres, they never as much as dreamed thereof. Raynes, windes, and other courses of tempestes they knowe before by certeine tokens, which they have learned by long use and observation. But of the causes of al these thinges and of the ebbinge, flowinge and saltenes of the sea, and finallye of the original begynnynge and nature of heaven and of the worlde, they holde partelye the same opinions that oure olde philosophers hold, and partely, as our philosophers varye among themselfes, so they also, whiles they bringe newe reasons of thinges, do disagree from all them, and yet among themselfes in all poyntes they doe not accorde. In that part of philosophie, which intreateth of manners and vertue, theire reasons and opinions agree with ours. They dispute of the good qualityes of the sowle, of the body and of fortune. And whether the name of goodnes maye be applied to all these, or onlye to the endowementes and giftes of the soule.

Yet emonge Christians this geere is highli estemed thies daies.

Naturall philosophie is a knowledge most uncertein.

Moral philosophie.

The order of good thinges.

They reason of vertue and pleasure. But the chiefe and principall question is in what thinge, be it one or moe, the felicitye of man consistethe. But in this poynte they seme almooste to muche geven and enclyned to the opinion of them, which defende pleasure, wherein they determine either all or the chiefyste parte of mans felicitye to reste. And (whyche is more to bee marveled at) the defense of this soo deyntye and delicate an opinion they fetche even from theire grave, sharpe, bytter

The endes of good thinges.

The Utopianes holde opynion that felycytie consistethe in honest pleasure.

The principles of philosophye grounded upon religion.

and rygorous religion. For they never dispute of felicity or blessednes, but they joine unto the reasons of philosophye certeyne principles taken oute of religion: wythoute the whyche to the investigation of trewe felicitye they thynke reason of it selfe weake and unperfecte. Those principles be these and such lyke. That the soule is immortal, and by the bountiful goodnes of God ordeined to felicitie. That to our vertues and good deades rewardes be appointed after this life, and to our evel deades punishmentes. Though these be perteyning to religion, yet they thincke it mete that they shoulde be beleved and graunted by profes of reason. But yf these principles were condempned and dysanulled, then without anye delaye they pronounce no man to be so folish, whiche woulde not do all his diligence and endevoure to obteyne pleasure be ryght or wronge, onlye avoydynge this inconvenience, that the lesse pleasure should not be a let or hinderaunce to the bigger: or that he laboured not for that pleasure, whiche would bringe after it displeasure, greefe and sorrow. For they judge it extreame madnes to folowe sharpe and peinful vertue, and not only to bannishe the pleasure of life, but also willingly to suffer griefe, without anye hope of proffit thereof ensuinge. For what proffit can there be, if a man, when he hath passed over all his lyfe unpleasauntly, that is to say, miserablye, shall have no rewarde after his death? But nowe, syr, they thinke not felicitie to reste in all pleasure, but only in that pleasure that is good and honeste, and that heretö, as to perfet blessednes our nature is allured and drawen even of vertue, whereto onlye they that be of the contrary opinion do attribute

The theologie of the Utopianes.

The immortalitie of the soule, wherof these dayes certeine Christianes be in doubte.

As every pleasure ought not to be imbraced so grefe is not to be pursued but for vertues sake.

In this definition of vertue they agre with the Stoicians.

felicitie. For they define vertue to be life ordered according to nature, and that we be hereunto ordeined of God. And that he dothe followe the course of nature, which in desiering and refusinge thinges is ruled by reason. Furthermore that reason doth chiefely and principallye kendle in men the love and veneration of the devine majestie. Of whose goodnes it is that we be, and that we be in possibilitie to attayne felicite. And that secondarely it bothe stirrethe and provoketh us to leade our lyfe oute of care in joy and mirth, and also moveth us to helpe and further all other in respecte of the societe of nature to obteine and enjoye the same. For there was never man so earnest and paineful a follower of vertue and hater of pleasure, that wold so injoyne you laboures, watchinges and fastinges, but he would also exhort you to ease, lighten and relieve, to your powre, the lack and misery of others, praysing the same as a dede of humanitie and pitie. Then if it be a poynte of humanitie for man to bring health and comforte to man, and speciallye (which is a vertue moste peculiarlye belonging to man) to mitigate and assuage the greife of others, and by takyng from them the sorowe and hevynes of lyfe, to restore them to joye, that is to saye, to pleasure: whie maye it not then be sayd, that nature doth provoke everye man to doo the same to himselfe? For a joyfull lyfe, that is to say, a pleasaunt lyfe is either evel, and if it be so, then thou shouldest not onlye helpe no man therto, but rather, as much as in the lieth, withdrawe all men frome it, as noysome and hurteful, or els if thou not only mayste, but also of dewty art bound to procure it to … chiefely to the selfe? To … to shew as

The worke and effecte of reason in man.

But nowe a daies some ther bee that wyllinglye procure unto themselves painefull griefes, as thoughe therin rested some hieghe pointe of religion, whereas rather the religiously disposed person, yf they happen to him

much favoure and gentelnes as to other. For when nature biddeth the to be good and gentle to other she commaundeth the not to be cruell and ungentle to the selfe. Therefore even very nature (saye they) prescribeth to us a joyful lyfe, that is to say, pleasure as the ende of all oure operations. And they define vertue to be lyfe ordered accordynge to the prescripte of nature. But in that that nature dothe allure and provoke men one to healpe another to lyve merily (which suerly she doth not without a good cause, for no man is so farre above the lotte of mans state or condicion, that nature dothe carke and care for hym onlye, whiche equallye favourethe all that be comprehended under the communion of one shape forme and fassion) verely she commaundeth the to use diligent circumspection, that thou do not so seke for thine owne commodities, that thou procure others incommodities. Wherefore theire opinion is, that not only covenauntes and bargaynes made amonge private men ought to be well and faythefullye fulfilled, observed and kepte, but also commen lawes, whiche either a good prince hath justly publyshed, or els the people neither oppressed with tyrannye, neither deceaved by fraude and gyell, hath by theire common consent constituted and ratifyed, concerninge the particion of the commodities of lyfe, that is to say, the matter of pleasure. These lawes not offended, it is wysdome, that thou looke to thine own wealthe. And to doe the same for the common wealth is no lesse then thy duetie, if thou bearest any reverent love, or any naturall zeale and affection to thy native countreye. But to go about to let an other man of his pleasure, whiles thou procurest thine owne, that is open wrong. Contrary wyse to withdrawe somethinge from the selfe to geve to other, that is a pointe of humanitie and gentilnes: whiche never

either by chaunce or elles by naturall necessitie, ought pacientlye to receave and suffer them.

Bargaynes and Lawes.

taketh awaye so muche commoditie, as it bringethe agayne.

The mutual recourse of kindnes.

For it is recompensed with the retourne of benefytes; and the conscience of the good dede, with the remembraunce of the thankefull love and benevolence of them to whom thou hast done it, doth bringe more pleasure to thy mynde, then that whiche thou hast withholden from thy selfe could have brought to thy bodye. Finallye (which to a godly disposed and a religious mind is easy to be persuaded) God recompenseth the gifte of a short and smal pleasure with great and everlastinge joye. Therfore the matter diligently weyede and considered, thus they thinke, that all our actions, and in them the vertues themselfes, be referred at the last to pleasure, as their ende and felicitie.

The definition of Pleasure.

Pleasure they call every motion and state of the bodie or mynde wherin man hath naturally delectation. Appetite they joyne to nature, and that not without a good cause. For like as, not only the senses, but also right reason coveteth whatsoever is naturally pleasaunt, so that it may be gotten without wrong or injurie, not letting or debarring a greater pleasure, nor causing painful labour, even so those thinges that men by

False and counterfeate pleasures.

vaine ymagination do fayne against nature to be pleasaunt (as though it laye in their power to chaunge the thinges, as they do the names of thinges) al suche pleasures they beleve to be of so small helpe and furtheraunce to felicitie, that they counte them a great let and hinderaunce. Because that in whom they have ones taken place, all his mynde they possesse with a false opinion of pleasure. So that there is no place left for true and naturall delectations. For there be many thinges, which of their owne nature conteyne no plesauntnes: yea the moste parte of them muche griefe and sorrowe. And yet throughe the perverse and malicyous flickeringe intice-

mentes of lewde and unhoneste desyres, be taken not only for speciall and sovereigne pleasures, but also be counted amonge the chiefe causes of life. In this counterfeat kinde of pleasure they put them that I spake of before; which the better gownes they have on, the better men they thinke them selfes. In the which thing they doo twyse erre. For they be no lesse deceaved in that they thinke theire gowne the better, than they be, in that they thinke themselfes the better. For if you consider the profitable use of the garmente, whye should wulle of a fyner sponne threde, be thougt better, than the wul of a course sponne threde? Yet they, as though the one did passe the other by nature, and not by their mistakyng, avaunce themselfes, and thinke the price of their owne persones thereby greatly encreased. And therefore the honour, which in a course gowne they durste not have loked for, they require, as it were of dewtie, for theyr fyner gownes sake. And if they be passed by without reverence, they take it displeasauntly and disdainfullye. And agayne is it not lyke madnes to take a pryde in vayne and unprofitable honours? For what naturall or trewe pleasure doest thou take of an other mans bare hede, or bowed knees? Will this ease the paine of thy knees, or remedie the phrensie of thy hede? In this ymage of counterfeite pleasure, they be of a marvelous madnesse, whiche for the opinion of nobilitie, rejoyse muche in their owne conceyte. Because it was their fortune to come of suche auncetoures, whose stocke of longe tyme hathe bene counted ryche (for nowe nobilitie is nothing elles) speciallye riche in landes. And though their auncetours left them not one foote of lande, yet they thinke themselves not the lesse noble therfore of one heare. In this number also they counte them that take

The errour of them that esteme themselfes the more for apparrelles sake.

Folish honore.

Vaine nobilitie.

Pleasure in precious stones most folish.

pleasure and delite (as I said) in gemmes and precious stones, and thynke themselves almoste goddes, if they chaunce to gette an excellente one, speciallye of that kynde, whiche in that tyme of their own countre men is had in hyghest estimation. For one kynde of stone kepeth

The opinion and fansie of people doth augment and diminishe the price and estimation of precious stones.

not his pryce styll in all countreis and at all times. Nor they bye them not, but taken out of the golde and bare: no nor so neither, untyll they have made the seller to sweare, that he will warraunte and assure it to be a true stone, and no counterfeit gemme. Suche care they take lest a counterfeite stone should deceave their eyes in steade of a ryghte stone. But why shouldest thou not take even as muche pleasure in beholdynge a counterfeite stone, whiche thine eye cannot dis-

Beholders of treasure, not occupiyng the same.

cerne from a righte stone? They shoulde bothe be of lyke value to thee, even as to the blynde man. What shall I saye of them, that kepe superfluous riches, to take delectation only in the beholdinge, and not in the use or occupiynge thereof? Do they take trew pleasure, or elles be thei deceaved with false pleasure? Or

Hyders of treasure.

of them that be in a contrarie vice, hidinge the gold whiche they shall never occupye, nor peradventure never se more? And whiles they take care leaste they shall leese it, do leese it in dede. For what is it elles, when they hyde it in the ground, takyng it bothe frome their owne use, and perchaunce frome all other mennes also?

A prettie fiction and a wittie.

And yet thou, when thou haste hydde thy treasure, as one out of all care, hoppest for joye. The whiche treasure, yf it shoulde chaunce to bee stolen, and thou ignoraunt of the thefte shouldest dye tenne years after: all that tenne yeares space that thou lyvedest after thy money was stoolen, what matter was it to thee, whether it hadde bene taken awaye or elles safe as thou lefteste

it? Trewlye both wayes like profytte came to thee. To these so foolyshe pleasures they joyne dicers, whose madnesse they knowe by hearsay and not by use. Hunters also, and hawkers. For what pleasure is there (say they) in castinge the dice upon a table. Which thou hast done so often, that if there wer any pleasure in it, yet the oft use might make thee werie thereof? Or what delite can there be, and not rather dyspleasure in hearynge the barkynge and howlynge of dogges? Or what greater pleasure is there to be felte, when a dogge followeth an hare, then when a dogge followeth a dogge? for one thinge is done in bothe, that is to saye, runnynge, yf thou haste pleasure therin. But yf the hope of slaughter and the expectation of tearynge in peces the beaste doth please thee: thou shouldest rather be moved with pitie to see a selye innocente hare murdered of a dogge, the weake of the stronger, the fearefull of the fearce, the innocente of the cruell and unmercyfull. Therefore all thys exercyse of huntynge, as a thynge unworthye to be used of free men, the Utopians have rejected to their bouchers, to the whiche crafte (as we sayde before) they appointe their bondemen. For they counte huntynge the lowest, the vyleste and mooste abjecte part of boucherie, and the other partes of it more profitable and more honeste, as bryngynge muche more commoditie, in that they kyll beastes onely for necessitie. Whereas the hunter seketh nothinge but pleasure of the seelye and wofull beastes slaughter and murder. The whiche pleasure in beholdinge deathe, they thinke doeth rise in the very beastes, either of a cruel affection of mind, or els to be chaunged in continuaunce of time into crueltie, by longe use of so cruell a pleasure. These therfore and all suche like, whiche be

Dice playe.

Huntinge and hawkinge.

Hunting the basest parte of bouchers among the Utopians, and yet this is nowe the exercise of most noble men.

innumerable, though the common sorte of people doth take them for pleasures, yet they, seing there is no natural pleasauntnes in them, do playnly determine them to have no affinitie with trew and right pleasure. For as touchinge that they do commonlye move the sense with delectation (whiche semeth to be a woorke of pleasure) this doeth nothynge diminishe their opinion. For not the nature of the thing, but their perverse and lewde custome is the cause hereof, whiche causeth them to accept bitter or sowre thynges for swete thynges.

The kindes of trew pleasures.

They make divers kindes of pleasures. For some they attribute to the soule, and some to the body. To the soule they geve intelligence and that delectation that commethe of the contemplation of trewth. Hereunto is joyned the pleasaunte remembraunce of the good lyfe paste.

The pleasures of the bodye.

The pleasure of the bodye they devide into ii. partes. The first is when delectation is sensibly felt and perceaved. The seconde parte of bodely pleasure, they say, is that which consisteth and resteth in the quiete and upryghte state of the bodye.

Bodily health.

And that trewlye is everye mannes owne propre health entermingled and disturbed with no griefe. For this, yf it be not letted nor assaulted with no greif, is delectable of it selfe, thoughe it be moved with no externall or outwarde pleasure. For though it be not so plain and manyfeste to the sense, as the gredye luste of eatynge and drynkynge, yet neverthelesse manye take it for the chiefeste pleasure. All the Utopians graunt it to be a right sovereigne pleasure, and as you woulde saye, the foundation and grounde of all pleasures, as whiche even alone is hable to make the state and condition of life delectable and pleasaunt. And it beyng once taken awaye, there is no place lefte for any pleasure. For to be without greife not

havinge health, that they call unsensibilitie, and not pleasure. The Utopians have long ago rejected and condempned the opinion of them whiche sayde that stedfaste and quiete healthe (for this question also hathe bene diligently debated amonge them) oughte not therfore to be counted a pleasure, bycause they saye it can not be presentlye and sensiblye perceaved and felte by some outwarde motion. But of the contrarie parte nowe they agree almooste all in this, that healthe is a moost soveraigne pleasure. For seynge that in sycknesse (saye they) is greiffe, whiche is a mortal enemie to pleasure, even as sicknes is to health, why should not then pleasure be in the quietnes of health? For they say it maketh nothing to this matter, whether you saye that sycknesse is a griefe, or that in sickenes is griefe, for all commethe to one purpose. For whether health be a pleasure it selfe, or a necessary cause of pleasure, as fier is of heate, truelye bothe wayes it foloweth, that they cannot be withoute pleasure, that be in perfect helth. Furthermore whiles we eat (say they) then healthe, whiche beganne to be appayred, fighteth by the helpe of foode againste hunger. In the which fight, whiles health by litle and litle getteth the upper hande, that same procedyng, and (as ye would say) that onwardnes to the wonte strength ministreth that pleasure, wherby we be so refreshed. Health therfore, whiche in the conflict is joyefull, shall it not be mery, when it hath gootten the victorie? But as soone as it hathe recovered the pristinate strength, which thing onely in all the fight it coveted, shal it incontinent be astonied? Nor shal it not know nor imbrace the owne wealthe and goodnes? For where it is said, healthe can not be felt: this, they thinke, is nothing trew. For what man wakyng, say they, feleth not himselfe in health, but he that is not? Is there anye man so possessed with stonishe insensibilitie, or with

lethargie, that is to say, the sleping sicknes, that he will not graunt healthe to be acceptable to him, and delectable? But what other thinge is delectation, than that whiche by an other name is called pleasure? They imbrace chieflie the pleasures of the mind. For them they counte the chiefist and most principall of all. The chiefe parte of them they thinke doth come of the exercise of vertue, and conscience of good life. Of these pleasures that the body ministreth, they geve the preeminence to helth. For the delite of eating and drinking, and whatsoever hath any like pleasauntnes, they determyne to be pleasures muche to be desired, but no other wayes than for healthes sake. For suche thinges of their own proper nature be not so pleasaunt, but in that they resiste sickenesse privelie stealing on. Therfore like as it is a wise mans part, rather to avoid sicknes, then to wishe for medicines, and rather to drive away and put to flight carefull griefes, then to call for comfort: so it is muche better not to neade this kinde of pleasure, then thereby to be eased of the contrarie griefe. The whiche kinde of pleasure, yf anye man take for his felicitie, that man must nedes graunt, that then he shal be in most felicitie, if he live that life, which is led in continuall hunger, thurste, itchinge, eatinge, drynkynge, scratchynge and rubbing. The which life how not only foule, and unhonest, but also howe miserable, and wretched it is, who perceveth not? These doubtles be the basest pleasures of al, as unpure and unperfect. For they never come, but accompanied with their contrarie griefes. As with the pleasure of eating is joyned hunger, and that after no very egal sort. For of these ii. the griefe is both the more vehement, and also of longer continuaunce. For it beginneth before the pleasure, and endeth not until the pleasure die with it. Wherefore suche pleasures they

Delectation.

The pleasures of the mynde.

thinke not greatlye to be set by, but in that thei be necessari. Howbeit they have delite also in these, and thankfulli knowledge the tender love of mother nature, which with most pleasaunt delectation allureth her children to that, to the necessarie use wherof they must from time to time continually be forced and driven. For how wretched and miserable should our life be, if these dailie greffes of hunger and thurst coulde not be driven awaye, but with bitter potions and sower medicines, as the other diseases be, wherwith we be seldomer troubled? But beutie, strengthe, nemblenes, these as peculiar and pleasaunt giftes of nature they make muche of. But those pleasures that be receaved by the eares, the eyes and the nose, whiche nature willeth to be proper and peculiar to man (for no other livinge creature doth behold the fairenes and the bewtie of the worlde, or is moved with any respecte of savours, but onely for the diversitie of meates, neither perceaveth the concordaunte and discordant distaunces of soundes and tunes) these pleasures, I say, they accept and alowe as certen pleasaunte rejoysinges of life. But in all thinges this cautel they use, that a lesse pleasure hinder not a bigger, and that the pleasure be no cause of displeasure, whiche they thinke to folow of necessitie, if the pleasure be unhoneste. But yet to dispise the comlines of bewtie, to wast the bodelie strength, to turne nimblenes into sloughishnesse, to consume and make feble the bodie with fastinge, to do injurie to healthe, and to rejecte the pleasaunte motions of nature; onles a man neglecte these commodities, whiles he dothe with a fervent zeale procure the wealthe of others, or the commen profite, for the whiche pleasure forborne, he is in hoope of a greater pleasure at Goddes hande; elles for a vaine shaddow of vertue, for the wealth and profite of no man, to punishe himselfe, or to the intente he

The giftes of nature.

maye be hable courragiouslie to suffer adversitie, whiche perchaunce shall never come to him; this to do they thinke it a point of extreame madnes, and a token of a man cruellye minded towardes himselfe, and unkind towardes nature, as one so disdaining to be in her daunger, that he renounceth and refuseth all her benefites.

Marke this well.

This is their sentence and opinion of vertue and pleasure. And they beleve that by mans reason none can be found trewer then this, onles any godlyer be inspired into man from heven. Wherin whether they beleve well or no, neither the time doth suffer us to discusse neither it is nowe necessarie. For we have taken upon us to shewe and declare their lores and ordinaunces, and not to defende them. But this thynge I beleve verely, howe soever these decrees be, that there is in no place of the world, neyther a more excellent people, neither a more flourishynge commen wealth. They be lyghte and quicke of bodie, full of activitie and nimblenes, and of more strength then a man woulde judge them by their stature, which for all that is not to lowe. And thoughe theyr soyle be not verie frutefull, nor their aier very wholsome, yet againste the ayer they so defende them with temperate diete, and so order and husbande their grounde with diligente travaile, that in no countrey is greater increase, and plentye of corne and cattell, nor mens bodies of longer lyfe, and subject or apte to fewer diseases. There therfore a man maye see well and diligentlie exploited and furnished, not onelye those thinges whiche husbandemen do commenly in other countreis, as by craft and cunninge to remedie the barrennes of the grounde; but also a whole wood by the handes of the people plucked up by the rootes in one place, and set *againe* in an other place. Wherein was had regard and

The wealthe and description of the Utopians.

consideration, not of plenty, but of commodious carriage, that wood and timber might be nigher to the sea, or the rivers, or the cities. For it is lesse laboure and businesse to carrie grayne farre by land, than wood. The people be gentle, merie, quicke, and fyne witted, delitinge in quietnes, and when nede requireth, hable to abide and suffer much bodelie laboure. Els they be not greatly desirous and fond of it; but in the exercise and studie of the mind they be never wery. When they had herd me speak of the Greke literature or lerning (for in Latin there was nothing that I thought they would greatly alow, besides historiens and poetes) they made wonderfull earneste and importunate sute unto me that I would teach and instructe them in that tonge and learninge. I beganne therfore to reade unto them, at the first truelie more bicause I would not seme to refuse the laboure, then that I hooped that they would any thing profite therein. But when I had gone forward a litle, I perceaved incontinente by their diligence, that my laboure should not be bestowed in vaine. For they began so easelie to fashion their letters, so plainlie to pronounce the woordes, so quickelie to learne by hearte, and so suerlie to rehearse the same, that I marvailed at it, savinge that the most parte of them were fine and chosen wittes and of ripe age, piked oute of the companie of the learned men, whiche not onelie of their owne free and voluntarie will, but also by the commaundemente of the counsell, undertoke to learne this langage. Therefore in lesse then thre yeres space there was nothing in the Greke tonge that they lacked. They were hable to rede good authors withoute anie staye, if the booke were not false. This kynde of learninge, as I suppose, they toke so muche the sooner,

The utilitie of the Greke tonge.

A wonderfull aptnes to learninge in the Utopians.

But now most blockheded asses be sette to learninge, and most pregnaunt wittes corrupt with pleasures.

bycause, it is sumwhat allyaunte to them. For I thinke that this nation tooke their beginninge of the Grekes, bycause their speche, which in al other poyntes is not much unlyke the Persian tonge, kepeth dyvers signes and tokens of the Greke langage in the names of their cityes and of theire magistrates. They have of me (for when I was determyned to entre into my iiii. voyage, I caste into the shippe in the steade of marchandise a prety fardel of bookes, bycause I intended to come againe rather never, than shortly) they have, I saye, of me the moste parte of Platoes workes, more of Aristotles, also Theophrastus of plantes, but in divers places (which I am sorye for) unperfecte. For whiles we were a shipborde, a marmoset chaunced upon the booke, as it was negligentlye layde by, which wantonlye playinge therewyth plucked oute certeyne leaves, and toore them in pieces. Of them that have wrytten the grammer, they have onelye Lascaris. For Theodorus I caried not wyth me, nor never a dictionayre but Hesichius, and Dioscorides. They sett greate stoore by Plutarches bookes. And they be delyted wyth Lucianes mery conceytes and jestes. Of the poetes they have Aristophanes, Homer, Euripides, and Sophocles in Aldus small prynte. Of the historians they have Thucidides, Herodotus, and Herodian. Also my companion, Tricius Apinatus, caried with him phisick bokes, certein smal woorkes of Hippocrates and Galenes Microtechne. The whyche boke they have in greate estimation. For thoughe there be almost no nation

Phisicke hieghly regarded.

under heaven that hath lesse nede of phisicke then they, yet this notwithstandyng, phisicke is no where in greater honour. Bycause they counte the knowledge of it among the goodlyeste and most profytable partes of philosophie. For whyles they by the helpe of this philosophie searche oute the secrete mysteryes

of nature, they thinke themselfes to receave therby not onlye wonderfull greate pleasure, but also to obteine great thankes and favour of the autour and maker therof. Whome they thinke, according to the fassion of other artificers, to have set furth the marvelous and gorgious frame of the world for man with great affeccion intentively to beholde. Whom only he hath made of witte and capacitie to considre and understand the excellencie of so great a woork. And therefore he beareth (say they) more goodwil and love to the curious and diligent beholder and vewer of his woork and marvelour at the same, then he doth to him, which like a very brute beaste without witte and reason, or as one without sense or moving, hathe no regarde to soo greate and soo wonderfull a spectacle. The wittes therefore of the Utopians, inurede and exercised in learnynge, be marveilous quycke in the invention of feates helpinge annye thinge to the advantage and wealthe of lyffe. Howbeit ii. feates theye maye thanke us for. That is, the scyence of imprinting, and the crafte of makinge paper. And yet not onelye us but chiefelye and principallye themselfes.

The contemplacion of nature.

For when we shewede to them Aldus his print in bookes of paper, and told them of the stuffe wherof paper is made, and of the feate of graving letters, speaking sumwhat more, then we colde plainlye declare (for there was none of us, that knewe perfectlye either the one or the other) they furthwith very wittely conjectured the thinge. And where as before they wrote onely in skinnes, in barkes of tryes, and in rides, nowe they have attempted to make paper, and to imprint letters. And thoughe at the first yt proved not all of the beste, yet by often assayinge the same they shortelye got the feate of bothe. And have so broughte the matter aboute, that yf they had copyes of Greeke

authores, they coulde lacke no bookes. But nowe they have no moore then I rehearsed before, savinge that by pryntynge of bookes they have multiplyed and increased the same into manye thousandes of copies. Whosoever cummethe thether to see the lande, beinge excellent in anye gifte of wytte, or througe muche and longe journienge wel experiensed and sene in the knoweledg of many countreies (for the whyche cause wee were very welcome to them) him they receyve and interteyne wonders gentilly and lovinglye. For they have delite to heare what is done in everye lande, howbeit verye fewe merchaunte men come thether. For what shoulde they bring thether, onles it were iron, or els gold and silver, whiche they hadde rather carrye home agayne? Also such thinges as are to be caryed oute of theire lande, they thinke it more wysedome to carry that gere furthe themselfes, then that other shoulde come thether to fetche it, to thentente they maye the better knowe the out landes on everye syde of them, and kepe in ure the feate and knowledge of sailinge.

Of Bondemen, sicke persons, wedlocke, and divers other matters.

THey neither make bondemen of prisoners taken in battayle, oneles it be in battaylle that they foughte them selfes, nor of bondmens children, nor to be short, of anye suche as they canne gette out of forreine countries, though he were theire a bondman. But either suche as amonge themselfes for heinous offences be punyshed with bondage, or elles suche as in the cities of other landes for great trespasses be condempned to deathe. And of this sort of bondemen they have mooste stoore.

A marvelous equitie of this nation.

For manye of them they bringe home sumtimes payinge very lytle for them, yea mooste commonlye gettynge them for gramercye. These sortes of bondemen they kepe not onely in continual woorke and labour, but also in bandes. But their oune men they handle hardest, whom they judge more desperate, and to have deserved greater punisshemente, bycause they being so godlye broughte up to vertue in soo excelente a common wealth, could not for all that be refreined from misdoing. An other kinde of bondemen they have, when a vile drudge being a poore laborer in an other country doth chuese of his owne free wyll to be a bondman among them. These they intreate and order honestly, and enterteine almoste as gentellye as theire owne free cytyzeins, savynge that they put them to a lyttle more laboure, as thereto accustomed. Yf annye suche be disposed to departe thens (whiche seldome is seene) they neither holde

Of them that be sicke.

him againste his wyll, neither sende him away with emptye handes. The sycke (as I sayde) they see to with great affection, and lette nothing at al passe concerninge either phisycke or good diete, whereby they may be restored againe to their health. Such as be sicke of incurable diseases they comforte with sittinge by them, with talkinge with them, and to be shorte, with all maner of helpes that may be. But yf the disease be not onelye uncurable, but also full of contynuall payne and anguishe; then the priestes and the magistrates exhort the man, seinge he is not hable to doo anye dewtye of lyffe, and by overlyvinge his owne deathe is noysome and irkesome to other, and grevous to himselfe, that he wyl determine with himselfe no longer to cheryshe that pestilent and peineful disease. And seinge his lyfe is to him but a tormente, that he wyl not bee unwillinge to dye, but rather take a good hope to him, and either dispatche himselfe out of that payneful lyffe, as out of a prison, or a racke of tormente, or elles suffer himselfe wyllinglye to be rydde oute of it by other. And in so doinge they tell him he shall doo wysely, seing by his deathe he shall lose no commoditye, but ende his payne. And bycause in that acte he shall followe the counsel of the pryestes, that is to saye, of the interpreters of Gooddes wyll and pleasure, they shewe him that he shall do lyke a godly and a vertuous man. They that be thus persuaded, finyshe theire lives willynglye, either with hunger, or elles dye in theire sleape without anye fealing of deathe. But they cause none suche to dye agaynste his wyll, nor they use no lesse dilygence and attendaunce aboute him, belevinge this to be an honorable deathe. Elles he that killeth himself before that the pryestes and the counsel have allowed the cause of his deathe, him as unworthy either to be buryed,

Voluntarye deathe.

or with fier to be consumed, they caste unburied into some stinkinge marrish. The woman is not maried before she be xviii. yeres olde. The man is iiij. yeres elder before he marye.

Of wedlocke.

And matrymoneie is there never broken, but by death; excepte adulterye breake the bonde, or els the intollerable wayewarde maners of either partye. For if either of them finde themselfe for any such cause greved, they maye by the license of the counsel chaunge and take another. But the other partie lyveth ever after in infamye and out of wedlocke. Howebeit the husbande to put away his wife for no other faulte, but for that some myshappe is fallen to her bodye, this by no meanes they wyll suffre. For they judge it a great poynt of crueltie, that anye body in their moste nede of helpe and comforte, shoulde be caste of and forsaken, and that olde age, whych both bringeth sicknes with it, and is a syckenes it selfe, should unkindly and unfaythfullye be delte withall. But nowe and then it chaunseth, where as the man and the woman cannot well agree betw[e]ne themselfes, both of them fyndinge other, with whome they hope to lyve more quietlye and merylye, that they by the full consente of them bothe be divorsed asonder and maried againe to other. But that not without the authoritie of the counsell. Whiche agreeth to no divorses, before they and their wyfes have diligently tried and examyned the matter. Yea and then also they be lothe to consent to it, bycause they know this to be the next way to break love betwene man and wyfe, to be in easye hope of a new mariage. Breakers of wedlocke be punyshed with mooste grevous bondage. And if both the offenders were maried, then the parties whiche in that behalfe have sufferede wrong, beinge divorsed from the avoutrers, be maried together, if they wille, or els to whom

Divorcement.

they lust. But if either of them both do styl continewe in love towarde so unkinde a bedfellowe, the use of wedlocke is not to them forbidden, if the partye faulteles be disposed to followe in toylinge and drudgerye the person which for that offence is condempned to bondage. And very ofte it chaunceth that the repentaunce of the one, and the earneste diligence of the other, dothe so move the prince with pytie and compassion, that he restoreth the bonde person from servitude to libertie and fredom again. But if the same partie be taken eftsones in that faulte there is no other waye but death. To other trespaces no prescript punishmente is appoynted by anye lawe. But accordinge to the heynousenes of the offense, or contrarye, so the punishemente is moderated by the discretion of the counsell. The husbandes chastice theire wyfes, and the parentes theire children, oneles they have done anye so horryble an offense, that the open punyshemente thereof maketh muche for the advauncemente of honeste maners. But moste commenlye the moste heynous faultes be punyshed with the incommoditie of bondage. For that they suppose to be to the offenders no lesse griefe, and to the common wealth more profit, then yf they should hastely put them to death, and so make them quite out of the waye. For there cummeth more profit of theire laboure, then of theire deathe, and by theire example they feare other the longer from lyke offenses. But if they beinge thus used, doo rebell and kicke againe, then forsothe they be slayne as desperate and wilde beastes, whom neither prison nor chaine coulde restraine and kepe under. But they whiche take theire bondage pacientlye be not lefte all hopeles. For after they have bene broken and tamed with long miseries, if then thei shewe such repentaunce, as therebye it maye bee perceaved that they be

The decerning of punishment putte to the discretion of the magistrates.

soryer for theire offense then for their punyshemente, sumtymes by the prynces prerogatyve, and sumtymes by the voyce and consent of the people, theire bondage either is mitigated, or els cleane released and forgeven. He that moveth to advoutreye is in no lesse daunger and jeoperdie then yf he hadde committed advoutrye in dede. For in all offenses they counte the intente and pretensed purpose as evel as the acte or dede it selfe, thinking that no lette oughte to excuse him that did his beste to have no lette. They have singular delite and pleasure in foles. And as it is a greate reproche to do annye of them hurte or injury, so they prohibite not to take pleasure of foolyshnes. For that, they thinke, dothe muche good to the fooles. And if any man be so sadde and sterne, that he cannot laughe neither at their wordes, nor at their dedes, none of them be committed to his tuition; for feare least he would not intreate them gentilly and favorably enough, to whom they should brynge no delectation (for other goodnes in them is none) muche lesse anye proffite shoulde they yelde him. To mocke a man for his deformitie, or for that he lacketh anye parte or lymme of his bodye, is counted greate dishonestye and reproche, not to him that is mocked, but to him that mocketh. Which unwysely doth imbrayde anye man of that as a vice, that was not in his powre to eschewe. Also as they counte and reken verye litell witte to be in him, that regardeth not naturall bewtie and comlinesse, so to helpe the same with payntinges, is taken for a vaine and a wanton pride, not withoute greate infamie. For they knowe, even by very experience, that no comelinesse of bewtye doethe so hyghelye commende and avaunce the wives in the conceite of their husbandes, as honest conditions and lowlines. For as love

Motion to advoutrye punished.

Pleasure of fooles.

Counterfeite bewtie.

is oftentimes wonne with bewty, so it is not kept, preserved and continued, but by vertue and obedience. They do not onely feare their people from doyng evil by punishmentes, but also allure them to vertue with rewardes of honoure. Therfore they set up in the markette place the ymages of notable men, and of such as have bene great and bounteful benefactors to the commen wealth, for the perpetual memorie of their good actes, and also that the glory and renowme of the auncetors maye styrre and provoke their posteritie to vertue. He that inordinatly and ambitiously desireth promotions is left al hopeles for ever atteining any promotion as long as he liveth. They lyve together lovinglye. For no magistrate is eyther hawte or fearfull. Fathers they be called, and lyke fathers they use themselves. The citezens (as it is their dewtie) willynglye exhibite unto them dew honour without any compulsion. Nor the prince himselfe is not knowen from the other by princely apparell, or a robe of state, nor by a crown or diademe roial, or cap of maintenaunce, but by a litle sheffe of corne caried before him. And so a taper of wax is borne before the bishop, wherby onely he is knowen. They have but few lawes. For to people so instructe and institute very fewe do suffice. Yea this thing they chiefely reprove among other nations, that innumerable bokes of lawes and expositions upon the same be not sufficient. But they think it against all right and justice that men shoulde be bound to those lawes, which either be in number mo then be hable to be read, or els blinder and darker, then that anye man can well understande them. Furthermore they utterlie exclude and banishe all attorneis, proctours, and sergeauntes at the lawe; whiche

Sinne punished and vertue rewarded.

The inordinate desire of honours condemned.

Magistrates honoured.

Fewe lawes.

The multitude of lawyers rfluous.

craftelye handell matters, and subtelly dispute of the lawes. For they thinke it moste meete, that every man should pleade his own matter, and tel the same tale before the judge that he wold tell to his man of law. So shal there be lesse circumstaunce of wordes, and the trueth shal soner come to light, whiles the judge with a discrete judgement doethe waye the woordes of him whom no lawyer hath instructe with deceit, and whiles he helpeth and beareth out simple wittes against the false and malicious circumventions of craftie children. This is harde to be observed in other countreis, in so infinite a number of blinde and intricate lawes. But in Utopia every man is a cunning lawier. For (as I said) they have very few lawes; and the plainer and grosser that anye interpretation is, that they allowe as most juste. For all lawes (saie they) be made and publyshed onely to the intente that by them every man shoulde be put in remembraunce of his dewtie. But the craftye and subtill interpretation of them (forasmuche as few can atteyne thereto) canne put verye fewe in that remembraunce, where as the simple, the plaine and grosse meaninge of the lawes is open to everye man.

The intent of lawes.

Elles as touchinge the vulgare sort of the people, whiche be bothe mooste in number, and have moste nede to knowe their dewties, were it not as good for them, that no law were made at all, as when it is made, to bringe so blynde an interpretation upon it, that without greate witte and longe arguynge no man can discusse it? To the fyndynge oute whereof neyther the grosse judgement of the people can attaine, neither the whole life of them that be occupied in woorkinge for their livynges canne suffice thereto. These vertues of the Utopians have caused their nexte neiboures and borderers, whiche live fre and under no subjection (for

the *Utopians* longe ago, have delivered manye of them from *tirannie*) to take magistrates of them, some for a yeare, and some for five yeares space. Which when the tyme of their office is expired, they bringe home againe with honoure and praise, and take new againe with them into their countrey. These nations have undoubtedlye very well and holsomely provided for their common wealthes. For seynge that bothe the makinge and marringe of the weale publique doeth depende and hange upon the maners of the rulers and magistrates, what officers coulde they more wyselye have chosen, then those which can not be ledde from honestye by bribes (for to them that shortly after shal depart thens into their own countrey money should be unprofitable) nor yet be moved eyther with favoure, or malice towardes any man, as beyng straungers, and unaquainted with the people? The whiche two vices of affection and avarice, where they take place in judgementes, incontinente they breake justice, the strongest and surest bonde of a common wealth. These peoples whiche fetche their officers and rulers from them, the Utopians cal their fellowes. And others to whome they have bene beneficiall, they call their frendes. As touching leagues, which in other places betwene countrey and countrey be so oft concluded, broken and renewed, they never make none with anie nation. For to what purpose serve leagues? say they. As thoughe nature had not set sufficient love betwene man and man. And who so regardeth not nature, thinke you that he will passe for wordes? They be brought into this opinion chiefelye, because that in those partes of the worlde leagues betwene princes be wont to be kepte and observed very slenderly. For here in Europa, and especiallye in these [illegible] faith and religion of Christe reigneth, [illegible] everye where

Of leagues

estemed holy and inviolable, partlie through the justice and goodnes of princes, and partly at the reverence and motion of the head bishops. Which like as they make no promisse themselves but they do verye religiouslye perfourme the same, so they exhorte all princes in any wise to abide by their promisses, and them that refuse or denye so to do, by their pontificall powre and authoritie they compell thereto. And surely they thinke well that it might seme a verye reprochefull thing, yf in the leagues of them which by a peculiare name be called faithful, faith should have no place. But in that newe founde parte of the world, which is scaselie so farre frome us beyond the line equinoctiall, as our life and maners be dissident from theirs, no trust nor confidence is in leagues. But the mo and holier ceremonies the league is knitte up with, the soner it is broken by some cavillation founde in the wordes, which many times of purpose be so craftelie put in and placed, that the bandes can never be so sure nor so stronge, but they will find some hole open to crepe out at, and to breake both league and trueth. The whiche craftye dealing, yea the whiche fraude and deceite, if they should know it to be practised among private men in their bargaines and contractes, they would incontinent crie out at it with an open mouth and a sower countenaunce, as an offense moste detestable, and worthye to be punnyshed with a shamefull deathe: yea even very they that avaunce themselves authours of lyke counsell geven to princes. Wherfore it may wel be thought, either that al justice is but a basse and a low vertue, and which avaleth it self farre under the highe dignitie of kynges; or at the least wise, that there be two justices, the one meete for the inferiour sorte of the people, goynge afote and crepynge lowe by the grounde, and bounde down on every side with many bandes bycause it shall not run at rovers; the other a

princelye vertue, which like as it is of much hygher majestie, then the other pore justice, so also it is of muche more libertie, as to the which nothing is unlawfull that it lusteth after. These maners of princes (as I said) whiche be there so evell kepers of leagues, cause the Utopians, as I suppose, to make no leagues at al, which perchaunce would chaunge their minde if they lived here. Howbeit they thinke that thoughe leagues be never so faithfullye observed and kepte, yet the custome of makynge leagues was very evell begon. For this causeth men (as though nations which be seperat asondre, by the space of a litle hil or a river, were coupled together by no societie or bonde of nature) to thinke themselves borne adversaries and enemies one to another, and that it were lawfull for the one to seke the death and destruction of the other, if leagues were not: yea, and that after the leagues be accorded, frendship doth not grow and encrese; but the licence of robbing and stealing doth styll remaine, as farfurth as for lack of forsight and advisement in writing the wordes of the league, any sentence or clause to the contrarie is not therin sufficientlie comprehended. But they be of a contrarye opinion. That is, that no man oughte to be counted an enemye, whiche hath done no injurye. And that the felowshippe of nature is a stronge league; and that men be better and more surely knit togethers by love and benevolence, then by covenauntes of leagues; by hartie affection of minde, then by wordes.

Of warfare.

WArre or battel as a thing very beastly, and yet to no kinde of beastes in so muche use as to man, they do detest and abhorre. And contrarie to the custome almooste of all other nations, they counte nothynge so much against glorie, as glory gotten in warre. And therefore thoughe they do daylie practise and exercise themselves in the discipline of warre, and not onelie the men, but also the women upon certen appointed daies, lest they should be to seke in the feate of armes, if nede should require, yet they never go to battell, but either in the defence of their owne countrey, or to drive out of their frendes lande the enemies that have invaded it, or by their power to deliver from the yocke and bondage of tirannye some people, that be therewith oppressed. Which thing they do of meere pitie and compassion. Howbeit they sende helpe to their frendes; not ever in their defence, but sometymes also to requite and revenge injuries before to them done. But this they do not onlesse their counsell and advise in the matter be asked, whiles it is yet newe and freshe. For if they finde the cause probable, and if the contrarie part wil not restoore agayne suche thynges as be of them justelye demaunded, then they be the chiefe autours and makers of the warre. Whiche they do not onlie as ofte as by inrodes and invasions of soldiours praies and booties be driven awaye, but then also muche more mortally, when their frendes marchauntes in anie lande, either under the pretence of unjuste lawes, or elles by the wrestinge and wronge understandinge of good lawes, do susteine an unjust accusation under the colour of justice. Neither the battell

whiche the Utopians fought for the Nephelogetes against the Alaopolitanes a litle before oure time was made for any other cause, but that the Nephelogete marchaunt men, as the Utopians thought, suffred wrong of the Alaopolitanes, under the pretence of righte. But whether it were righte or wronge, it was with so cruel and mortal warre revenged, the countreis rounde about joyninge their helpe and powre to the puisaunce and malice of bothe parties, that moste florishing and wealthy peoples, being some of them shrewedly shaken, and some of them sharpely beaten, the mischeves wer not finished nor ended, until the Alaopolitanes at the last were yelded up as bondemen into the jurisdiction of the Nephelogetes. For the Utopians fought not this war for themselves. And yet the Nephelogetes before the warre, when the Alaopolitanes flourished in wealth, wer nothing to be compared with them. So egerlye the Utopians prosequute the injuries done to their frendes, yea, in money matters; and not their owne likewise. For if they by coveyne or gile be wiped beside their goodes, so that no violence be done to their bodies, they wreake their anger by absteininge from occupieng with that nation, until they have made satisfaction. Not forbicause they set lesse stoore by their owne citizeins, then by their frendes; but that they take the losse of their frendes money more hevelie then the losse of their own. Bicause that their frendes marchaunte men, forasmuche as that they leise is their own private goods, susteine great dammage by the losse. But their owne citizeyns leise nothing but of the commen goods, and of that whiche was at home plentifull and almost superfluous, els had it not bene sent furth. Therfore no man feleth the losse. And for this cause they thinke it to cruell an acte, to revenge that losse with the deathe of manie, the incommoditie of the which losse no

man feeleth neither in his lyfe, nor yet in his living. But if it chaunce that any of their men in any other countrey be maimed or killed, whether it be done by a commen or a private counsel, knowyng and trying out the trueth of the matter by their ambassadours, onlesse the offenders be rendered unto them in recompence of the injurie, they will not be appeased; but incontinent they proclaime warre against them. The offenders yelded, they punishe either with death or with bondage. They be not only sory, but also ashamed to atchieve the victorie with bloudshed, counting it greate folie to bie precious wares to dere. They rejoyse and avaunt themselves, if they vanquishe and oppresse their enemies by craft and deceite. And for that act they make a generall triumph, and as yf the matter were manfullye handeled, they set up a pyller of stone in the place where they so vanquished their enemies, in token of the victorie. For then they glorie, then they boaste and cracke that they have plaied the men in deede, when they have so overcommen, as no other living creature but onely man could; that is to saye, by the mighte and puisaunce of wit. For with bodily strength (say they) beares, lions, boores, wulfes, dogges and other wild beastes do fight. And as the moste part of them do passe us in strength and fierce courage, so in wit and reason we be much stronger then they all. Their chief and principall purpose in warre, is to obteine that thynge, whiche if they had before obteined, they woulde not have moved battell. But if that be not possible, they take so cruell vengeaunce of them whiche be in the faulte, that ever after they be aferde to do the like. This is their chiefe and principall intent, whiche they immediatlie and first of al prosequute, and set forwarde. But yet so, that they be more circumspecte in avoidinge and eschewynge

Victorie deare bought.

jeopardies, then they be desierous of prayse and renowne. Therefore immediatlye after that warre is ones solemnelie denounced, they procure many proclamations signed with their owne commen seale to be set up privilie at one time in their enemies lande, in places moste frequented. In these proclamations they promisse greate rewardes to hym that will kill their enemies prince, and some what lesse giftes, but them verye greate also, for everye heade of them, whose names be in the saide proclamations conteyned. They be those whom they count their chiefe adversaries, next unto the prince. Whatsoever is prescribed unto him that killeth any of the proclaimed persons, that is dubled to him that bringeth anye of the same to them alive; yea, and to the proclaimed persones themselves, if they wil chaunge their mindes and come in to them, taking their partes, they profer the same greate rewardes with pardone and suertie of their lives. Therefore it quickely commeth to passe that their enemies have all other men in suspicion, and be unfaithfull and mistrusting among themselves one to another, living in great feare, and in no lesse jeopardie. For it is well knowen, that divers times the most part of them (and speciallie the prince him selfe) hathe bene betraied of them, in whom they put their moste hope and trust. So that there is no maner of act nor dede that giftes and rewardes do not enforce men unto. And in rewardes they kepe no measure. But remembring and considering into how great hasarde and jeopardie they cal them, endevoure themselves to recompence the greatnes of the daunger with like great benefites. And therefore they promise not only wonderful greate abundaunce of golde, but also landes of greate revenues lieng in most saffe places among theire frendes. And theire promisses ourme faythfully withoute annye fraude or covyne.

This custome of byinge and sellynge adversaryes among other people is dysallowed, as a cruel acte of a basse and a cowardyshe mynde. But they in this behalfe thinke themselfes muche prayse woorthy, as who lyke wyse men by this meanes dispatche greate warres withoute anny battell or skyrmyshe. Yea they counte it also a dede of pytye and mercye, bicause that by the deathe of a fewe offenders the lyves of a greate numbre of innocentes, as wel of theire oune men as also of theire enemies, be raunsomed and saved, which in fighting shoulde have bene sleane. For they doo no lesse pytye the basse and common sorte of theire enemies people, then they doo theire owne; knowing that they be driven and enforced to warre againste their willes by the furyous madnes of theire princes and heades. Yf by none of these meanes the matter goo forwarde as they woulde have it, then they procure occasyons of debate and dissention to be spredde amonge theire enemies. As by bringinge the princes brother, or some of the noble men, in hoope to obtayne the kingedome. Yf this waye prevayle not, then they reyse up the people that be nexte neygheboures and borderers to theire enemyes, and them they sette in theire neckes under the coloure of some olde tytle of ryghte, such as kynges doo never lacke. To them they promysse theire helpe and ayde in theire warre. And as for moneye they gyve them abundaunce. But of theire owne cytyzeins they sende to them fewe or none. Whome they make so much of and love so intierlye, that they would not be willing to chaunge anye of them for their adversaries prince. But their gold and silver, bycause they kepe it all for thys only purpose, they laye it owte frankly and frely; as who shoulde lyve even as wealthely, if they hadde bestowed it everye pennye. Yea and besydes theire ryches, whyche

they kepe at home. They have also an infinite treasure gathered, by reason that, as I saide before, manye nations be in their debte. Therefore they hiere souldiours oute of all countreis and sende them to battayle, but cheifly of the Zapoletes. This people is 500 myles from Utopia eastwarde. They be hideous, savage and fyerce, dwellynge in wild woodes and high mountaines, where they were bredde and brought up. They be of an harde nature, hable to abide and susteine heate, colde and labour, abhorrynge from all delicate deintyes, occupyenge no husbandrye nor tyllage of the ground, homelye and rude both in buildinge of their houses and in their apparel, geven unto no goodnes, but onely to the breedynge and bringynge up of cattel. The moste parte of theire lyvynge is by huntynge and stealynge. They be borne onelye to warre, whiche they diligentlye and earnestelye seke for. And when they have gotten it, they be wonders glad thereof. They goo furthe of theire countreye in greate companyes together, and whosoever lacketh souldyours, there they proffer theire service for small wages. This is onelye the crafte they have to gette theire lyvynge by. They maynteyne theire lyfe by sekynge theire deathe. For them whomewyth they be in wages they fyghte hardelye, fyerslye and faythefullye. But they bynde themselves for no certeyne tyme. But upon this condition they entre into bondes, that the nexte daye they wyll take parte with the other syde for greatter wages, and the nexte daye after that, they wyll be readye to come backe agayne for a lytle more moneye. There be fewe warres thereawaye, whereyn is not a greate numbre of them in bothe partyes. Therefore it dayelye chaunceth that nye kynsefolke, whiche were hiered together on one parte, and there verye frendelye and familiarlye used themselves one

wyth another, shortely after beinge separate in contrarye partes, runne one againste another envyouslye and fyercelye, and forgettinge bothe kindred and frendeshype, thruste theire swordes one in another. And that for none other cause, but that they be hyered of contrarye prynces for a lytle moneye. Whyche they doo so hyghlye regarde and esteame, that they will easelye be provoked to chaunge partes for a halfepenye more wayges by the daye. So quyckelye they have taken a smacke in covetesenes. Whyche for all that is to them no proffyte. For that they gette by fyghtynge, immedyatelye they spende unthryftelye and wretchedlye in ryotte. This people fighteth for the Utopians agaynste all nations, bycause they geve them greatter wayges, then annye other nation wyll. For the Utopians lyke as they seke good men to use wel, so they seke these evell and vicious men to abuse. Whome, when neade requirethe, with promisses of greate rewardes they putte forthe into great jeopardyes. From whens the mooste parte of them never cummeth againe to aske their rewardes. But to them that remaine alive they paye that which they promissed faithfully, that they maye be the more willinge to put themselfes in like daunger another time. Nor the Utopianes passe not how many of them they bring to destruction. For they beleve that they should doo a verye good deade for all mankind, if they could ridde out of the wordle all that fowle stinking denne of that most wicked and cursed people. Next unto thies they use the soldiours of them for whom they fighte. And then the helpe of their other frendes. And laste of all, they joyne to theire oune citizens. Emong whome they give to one of tried vertue and prowes the reule, goovernaunce and conduction of the whole armye. Under him they appoynte ij. other, whyche, whyles he is sauffe, be

bothe private and oute of offyce. But yf he be taken or slayne, the one of the other ij. succedeth hym, as it were by inherytaunce. And if the seconde miscarrye, then the thirde taketh his rowme, leaste that (as the chaunce of battell is uncerteine and doubtful) the jeopardye or deathe of the capitaine shoulde brynge the whole armye in hasarde. They chuese soldyours, out of every citye those whych putte furthe themselffes wyllyngelye. For they thruste no man forthe into warre agaynste his wyll. Bycause they beleve, yf annye man be fearefull and fainte harted of nature, he wyll not onelye doo no manfull and hardy acte hym selfe, but also be occasyon of cowardenes to his fellowes. But if annye battell be made agaynste theire owne countreye, then they putt these cowardes (so that they be stronge bodyed) in shyppes amonge other bolde harted men. Or elles they dyspose them upon the walles, from whens they maye not flye. Thus what for shame that theire enemies be at hande, and what for bycause they be without hope of runninge awaye, they forgette all feere. And manye times extreame necessitye turnethe cowardnes into prowes and manlynes. But as none of them is thrust forthe of his countrey into warre againste his wyll, so women that be wyllynge to accompany theire husbandes in times of warre be not prohibited or letted. Yea they provoke and exhorte them to it with prayses. And in set fylde the wyves doo stande everye one by theire owne husbandes syde. Also every man is compassed next aboute with his owne children, kinsfolkes and aliaunce. That they, whom nature chiefely moveth to mutual succoure, thus standynge together, maye healpe one another. It is a great reproche and dishonesty for the husband to come home without his wiffe, or the wyffe withoute her husb

the sonne without his father. And therfore if the other part sticke so harde by it that the battel come to their handes, it is fought with great slaughter and blodshed, even to the utter destruction of both partes. For as they make all the meanes and shyftes that maye be to kepe themselfes from the necessitye of fyghtinge, or that they may dispatche the battell by their hiered soldyours; so when there is no remedy, but that they muste neades fight themselfes, they do as corragiouslye fall to it, as before, whyles they myght, they did wiselye avoyde and refuse it. Nor they be not most fierce at the first bront. But in continuaunce by litle and lytle theire fierce courage encreaseth, with so stubborne and obstynate myndes, that they wyll rather dye then gyve back an ynche. For that suertye of lyvinge, whiche everye man hath at home beinge joyned with noo carefull anxietye or remembraunce how theire posteritie shall lyve after them (for this pensifnes oftentymes breakethe and abateth couragious stomakes) maketh them stowte and hardye, and disdaineful to be conquered. Moreover theire knowledge in chevalrye and feates of armes putteth them in a good hope. Finally the wholesome and vertuous opinions, wherin they were brought up even from theire childhode, partely through learnynge, and partelye throughe the good ordinaunces and lawes of theire weale publique, augmente and encrease theire manfull courage. By reason whereof they neither set so litle store by their lives, that they will rasshelye and unadvisedlye caste them away: nor they be not so farre in lewde and fond love therewith, that they will shamefullye covete to kepe them, when honestie biddeth leave them. When the battel is hottest and in al places most fierce and fervent, a bende of chosen and picked yong

The capitane is chiefelye to be pursued to thintente the battell maye the soner be ended.

men, whiche be sworne to live and dye togethers, take upon them to destroye theire adversaries capitaine. Whome they invade, now with privy wieles, now by open strength. At him they strike both nere and farre of. He is assayled with a long and a continuall assaulte, freshe men styll commynge in the weried mens places. And seldome it chaunceth (onles he save hymselfe by flying) that he is not either slayne, or els taken prisoner and yelded to his enemies alive. If they wynne the fyelde, they persecute not theire enemies with the violent rage of slaughter. For they had rather take them alive then kyl them. Neither they do so follow the chase and pursute of theire enemies, but they leave behinde them one parte of theire hoste in battaile arraye under their standardes. In so muche that if al their whole armie be discumfeted and overcum saving the rerewarde, and that they therewith atchieve the victory, then they had rather lette al their enemies scape, then to followe them out of array. For they remembre, it hath chaunced unto themselfes more then ones; the whole powre and strength of their hoste being vanquished and put to flight, whiles their enemies rejoysing in the victory have persecuted them flying some one way and some another; a small companye of theire men lying in an ambushe, there redy at all occasions, have sodainelye rysen upon them thus dispersed and scattered oute of arraye, and through presumption of safety unadvisedly pursuing the chase, and have incontinent changed the fortune of the whole battayll, and spite of their tethes wrestinge oute of their handes the sure and undouted victorye, being a litle before conquered, have for their parte conquered the conquerers. It is hard to say whether they be craftier in layinge an ambushe, or wittier in avoydinge the same.

You would thinke they intende to flye, when they meane nothing lesse. And contrarye wyse when they go about that purpose, you wold beleve it were the leaste parte of their thought. For if they perceave themselfes either overmatched in numbre, or closed in too narrowe a place, then they remove their campe either in the night season with silence, or by some pollicie they deceave theire enemies, or in the day time they retiere backe so softelye, that it is no lesse jeoperdie to medle with them when they geve backe, then when they preese on. They fence and fortifie their campe sewerlye with a deape and a brode trenche. The earth therof is cast inward. Nor they do not set drudgeis and slaves aworke about it. It is doone by the handes of the souldiours them selfes. All the whole armye worketh upon it, excepte them that kepe watche and warde in harneis before the trenche for sodeine aventures. Therefore by the labour of so manye a large trenche closinge in a greate compasse of grounde is made in lesse tyme then anye man woulde beleve. Theire armoure or harneys, whiche they weare, is sure and strong to receave strokes, and handsome for all movinges and gestures of the bodye, insomuche that it is not unweldye to swymme in. For in the discipline of theire warefare amonge other feates thei learne to swimme in harnes. Their weapons be arrowes aloufe, whyche they shote both strongely and surelye, not onelye fotemen, but also horsemen. At hande strokes they use not swordes but pollaxes, whiche be mortall, as wel in sharpenes, as in weyghte, both for foynes and downe strokes. Engines for warre they devyse and invent wonders wittelye. Whiche when they be made they kepe verye secrete, leaste yf they shoulde be knowen before neade requyre, they should be but laughed at and serve

Their armour.

to no purpose. But in makynge them, hereunto they have chiefe respecte, that they be both easy to be caried, and handsome to be moved and turned about.

Of trueces.

Truce taken with their enemies for a shorte time they do so firmelye and faythfullye keape, that they wyll not breake it; no, not though they be thereunto provoked. They doe not waste nor destroye theire enemies lande with forraginges, nor they burne not up their corne. Yea, they save it as muche as may be from being overrunne and troden downe either with men or horses, thinkinge that it growethe for theire owne use and proffit. They hurt no man that is unarmed, onles he be an espiall. All cities that be yelded unto them they defende. And suche as they wynne by force of assaulte, they neither dispoyle nor sacke, but them that withstode and dyssuaded the yeldynge up of the same, they put to deathe; the other souldiours they punnyshe with bondage. All the weake multitude they leave untouched. If they knowe that annye citezeins counselled to yealde and rendre up the citie, to them they gyve parte of the condemned mens goods. The resydewe they distribute and give frelye amonge them, whose helpe they had in the same warre. For none of them selfes taketh anye portion of the praye. But when the battaile is finished and ended, they put theire frendes to never a penny coste of al the charges that they were at, but laye it upon theire neckes that be conquered. Them they burdeine with the whole charge of theire expenseis, whiche they demaunde of them partelye in moneie to be kept for like use of battayll, and partelye in landes of greate revenues to be payde unto them yearelye for ever. Suche revenues they have now in manye countreis. Whiche by litle and litle rysinge of dyvers and sondry causes be increased above vij.

hundrethe thousand ducates by the yere. Thether they sende forth some of their citezeins as lieuetenauntes, to live there sumptuously like men of honoure and renowne. And yet, this not withstandinge, muche moneye is saved, which commeth to the commen treasory; onles it so chaunce, that they had rather trust the countrey with the money. Which many times they do so long, until they have nede to occupie it. And it seldome happeneth that thei demaund al. Of these landes they assigne parte unto them which, at their request and exhortacion, put themselfes in such jeoperdies as I spake of before. If anye prince stirre up warre agaynste them, intending to invade theire lande, they mete hym incontinent oute of theire owne borders with greate powre and strengthe. For they never lyghtely make warre in their owne countrei. Nor they be never broughte into so extreme necessitie as to take helpe out of forreyne landes into their owne ilande.

¶ Of the religions in Utopia.

THere be divers kindes of religion not only in sondrie partes of the ilande, but also in divers places of every citie. Some worship for God, the sonne; some, the mone; some, some other of the planettes. There be that give worship to a man that was ones of excellente vertue or of famous glory, not only as God, but also as the chiefest and hyghest God. But the moste and the wysest parte (rejectynge al these)

beleve that there is a certayne godlie powre unknowen, everlastinge, incomprehensible, inexplicable, farre above the capacitie and retche of mans witte, dispersed throughoute all the worlde, not in bignes, but in vertue and power. Him they call the father of al. To him alone they attribute the beginninges, the encreasinges, the procedinges, the chaunges and the endes of al thinges. Neither they geve any divine honours to any other then to him. Yea al the other also, though they be in divers opinions, yet in this pointe they agree all togethers with the wisest sorte, in beleving that there is one chiefe and principall God, the maker and ruler of the whole worlde: whome they all commonlye in their countrey language call Mythra. But in this they disagree, that among some he is counted one, and amonge some another. For every one of them, whatsoever that is whiche he taketh for the chief God, thinketh it to be the very same nature, to whose only divine mighte and majestie, the summe and soveraintie of al thinges by the consent of al people is attributed and geven. Howbeit they all begyn by litle and litle to forsake and fall from this varietie of superstitions, and to agre togethers in that religion whiche semethe by reason to passe and excell the residewe. And it is not to be doubted, but all the other would long agoo have bene abolished, but that whatsoever unprosperous thynge happened to anie of them, as he was mynded to chaunge his religion, the fearefulnesse of people did take it, not as a thinge comminge by chaunce, but as sente from GOD out of heaven. As thoughe the God whose honoure he was forsakynge woulde revenge that wicked purpose against him. But after they hearde us speake of the name of Christe, of his doctrine, lawes, myracles, and of thee no lesse wonderful constancie of so manye martyrs, whose bloude wyllinglye

shedde broughte a great numbre of nations throughoute all partes of the worlde into their sect; you will not beleve with howe gladde mindes, they agreed unto the same: whether it were by the secrete inspiration of GOD, or elles for that they thought it nieghest unto that opinion, which among them is counted the chiefest. Howbeit I thinke this was no smale helpe and furtheraunce in the matter, that they harde us say, that Christ instituted among his, al thinges commen; and that the same communitie doth yet remaine amongest the rightest Christian companies. Verely howsoever it came to passe, manye of them consented togethers in our religion, and were wasshed in the holy water of baptisme. But because among us foure (for no mo of us was left alive, two of our companye beyng dead) there was no priest; which I am right sorie for; they beynge entered and instructed in al other pointes of our religion, lacke onely those sacramentes, whiche here none but priestes do minister. Howbeit they understand and perceive them and be very desierous of the same. Yea, they reason and dispute the matter earnestly among themselves, whether without the sending of a Christian bishop, one chosen out of their own people may receave the ordre of priesthod. And truely they were minded to chuese one. But at my departure from them they had chosen none. They also which do not agree to Christes religion, feare no man from it, nor speake against any man that hath received it. Saving that one of our company in my presence was sharpely punished. He as soone as he was baptised began against our willes, with more earneste affection then wisedome, to reason of Christes religion; and began to waxe so hote in his matter, that he did not onlye preferre our religion before al other, but also did utterly despise and

Religious houses.

condempne all other, calling them prophane, and the folowers of them wicked and develish and the children of everlastinge dampnation. When he had thus longe reasoned the matter, they laide holde on him, accused him and condempned him into exile, not as a despiser of religion, but as a seditious person and a raiser up of dissention amonge the people. For this is one of the auncientest lawes amonge them; that no man shall be blamed for resoninge in the maintenaunce of his owne religion. For kyng Utopus, even at the firste beginning, hearing that the inhabitauntes of the land wer, before his cumming thether, at continuall dissention and strife amonge themselves for their religions; perceyving also that this common dissention (whiles every severall secte toke severall partes in fighting for their countrey) was the only occasion of his conquest over them al, as sone as he had gotten the victory; firste of all he made a decree, that it should be lawfull for everie man to favoure and folow what religion he would, and that he mighte do the best he could to bring other to his opinion, so that he did it peaceablie, gentelie, quietly and soberlie, without hastie and contentious rebuking and invehing against other. If he could not by faire and gentle speche induce them unto his opinion yet he should use no kinde of violence, and refraine from displeasaunte and seditious woordes. To him that would vehemently and ferventlye in this cause strive and contende was decreed banishment or bondage. This lawe did kynge Utopus make not only for the maintenaunce of peace, which he saw through continuall contention and mortal hatred utterly extinguished; but also because he thought this decrie should make for the furtheraunce of religion. Wherof he durst define and determine nothing unadvisedlie, as douting whether God

Seditious persons punished.

desiering manifolde and diverse sortes of honour, would inspire sondry men with sondrie kindes of religion. And this suerly he thought a very unmete and folish thing, and a point of arrogant presumption, to compell all other by violence and threateninges to agre to the same that thou belevest to be trew. Furthermore thoughe there be one religion whiche alone is trew, and al other vaine and superstitious, yet did he wel foresee (so that the matter were handeled with reason, and sober modestie) that the trueth of the own powre would at the last issue out and come to lyghte. But if contention and debate in that behalfe should continuallye be used, as the woorste men be mooste obstinate and stubbourne, and in their evyll opinion mooste constante; he perceaved that then the beste and holyest religion woulde be troden underfote and destroyed by most vaine supersticions, even as good corne is by thornes and weedes overgrowen and chooked. Therfore all this matter he lefte undiscussed, and gave to everye man free libertie and choise to beleve what he woulde. Savinge that he earnestelye and straitelye charged them, that no man should conceave so vile and baase an opinion of the dignitie of mans nature, as to think that the soules do die and perishe with the bodye; or that the world runneth at al aventures governed by no divine providence. And therfore thei beleve that after this life vices be extreamelye punished and vertues bountifully rewarded. Hym that is of a contrary opinion they counte not in the numbre of men, as one that hathe avaled the heighe nature of hys soule to the vielnes of brute beastes bodies, muche lesse in the numbre of their citiziens, whose lawes and ordenaunces, if it were not for feare, he wold nothing at al esteme. For you maye be suer that he will studie either with craft prively

No vile opinion to be conceaved of mans worthy nature.

to mocke, or els violently to breake the commen lawes of his countrey, in whom remaineth no further feare then of the lawes, nor no further hope then of the bodye. Wherfore he that is thus minded is deprived of all honours, excluded from all offices and reject from all common administrations in the weale publique.

Irreligious people secluded from all honours.

And thus he is of all sortes despised, as of an unprofitable and of a base and vile nature. Howbeit they put him to no punishment, because they be persuaded that it is in no mans power to beleve what he list.

A very straung sayinge.

No nor they constraine hym not with threatninges to dissemble his minde and shew countenaunce contrarie to his thought. For deceit and falshod and all maners of lies, as nexte unto fraude, they do merveiouslie deteste and abhorre.

Deceit and falshod detested.

But they suffer him not to dispute in his opinion, and that onelye amonge the commen people. For els aparte amonge the priestes and men of gravitie they do not onelye suffer, but also exhorte him to dispute and argue, hoping that at the last, that madnes will geve place to reason. There be also other, and of them no small numbre, which be not forbidden to speake theyr mindes, as grounding their opinion upon some reason, beyng in their living neither evell nor vicious. Their heresie is much contrarie to the other. For they beleve that the soules of brute beastes be immortall and everlasting. But nothynge to be compared with oures in dignitie, neither ordeined nor predestinate to like felicitie.

A marvelous straunge opinion touching the soules of brute beastes.

For al they beleve certeinly and sewerly that mans blesse shal be so great, that they do mourne and lament every mans sicknes, but no mans death, oneles it be one whome they see depart from his life carefullie and agaynst his will. For this they take for a verye evel token, as thoughe the soule beynge

in dispaire and vexed in conscience, through some privie and secret forefeiling of the punishement now at hande were aferde to depart.

To die unwilyngly an evel token.

And they thinke he shall not be welcome to God, which, when he is called, runneth not to him gladlye, but is drawen by force and sore against his will. They therfore that see this kinde of deathe do abhorre it, and them that so die they burie with sorow and silence. And when they have praied God to be mercifull to the soule and mercifully to pardon the infirmities therof, they cover the dead coorse with earth. Contrariewise all that departe merely and ful of good hope, for them no man mourneth, but followeth the heerse with joyfull synging, commending the soules to God with great affection. And at the last, not with mourning sorrow, but with a great reverence they bourne the bodies. And in the same place they sette up a piller of stone, with the dead mans titles therin graved. When they be come home they reherse his vertuous maners and his good dedes. But no part of his life is so oft or gladly talked of as his meri deth. They thinke that this remembraunce of the vertue and goodnes of the dead doeth vehemently provoke and enforce the living to vertue. And that nothing can be more pleasaunt and acceptable to the deade. Whom they suppose to be present among them, when they talke of them, though to the dull and feble eiesight of mortall men they be invisible. For it were an unconvenient thinge that the blessed shoulde not be at libertie to goo whether they woulde. And it were a pointe of greate unkindnes in them to have utterly cast awaye the desire of visitinge and seing their frendes, to whome they were in their life time joyned by mutuall love and amitie. Whiche in good men after

A willing and a merye deathe not to be lamented.

their deathe they counte to be rather increased then diminished. They beleve therefore that the deade be presentlye conversaunt amonge the quicke, as beholders and witnesses of all their wordes and dedes. Therfore they go more coragiously to their busines as having a trust and affiaunce in such overseers. And this same beliefe of the present conversation of their forefathers and auncetours among them feareth them from all secrete dishonestie.

Soothsayers not regarded nor credited.

They utterly despise and mocke sothsayinges and divinations of thinges to come by the flighte or voices of birdes, and all other divinations of vaine superstition, whiche in other countreis be in greate observation.

Miracles.

But they highlye esteme and worshyppe miracles that come by no healpe of nature, as woorkes and witnesses of the presente power of God. And suche they saye do chaunce there verye often. And sometimes in great and doubtefull matters, by commen intercession and prayers, they procure and obteine them with a sure hope and confidence, and a stedfast beliefe.

The life contemplative.

They thinke that the contemplation of nature and the prayse therof comminge, is to God a very acceptable honoure. Yet there be many so earnestlye bent and affectioned to religion, that they passe no thing for lerning, nor geve their mindes to any knowledge of thinges.

The life active.

But ydelnes they utterly forsake and eschue, thinking felicitie after this life to be gotten and obteined by busie labors and good exercises. Some therfore of them attende upon the sicke, some amende high waies, clense ditches, repaire bridges, digge turfes, gravell and stones, fel and cleave wood, bring wood, corne and other thinges into the cities in cartes, and serve not onelye in commen woorkes, but also in private laboures

as servauntes, yea, more then bondmen. For what so ever unpleasaunt, harde and vile worke is anye where, from the whiche labour, lothsomnes and desperation doth fray other, al that they take upon them willingly and gladly, procuring quiete and rest to other, remaininge in continual woorke and labour themselves, not embraidinge others therewith. They neither reprove other mens lives, nor glorie in theire owne. These men the more serviceable they behave themselves, the more they be honoured of all men. Yet they be divided into two sectes. The one is of them that live single and chast, absteining not onely from the companie of women, but also from eating of fleshe, and some of them from all maner of beastes. Whiche utterly rejecting the pleasures of this present life as hurtfull, be all wholye set upon the desier of the lyfe to come by watchynge and sweatynge, hoopinge shortly to obtaine it, being in the meane season merie and lustie. The other secte is no lesse desirous of laboure, but they embrace matrimonye, not despisynge the solace therof, thinking that they can not be discharged of their bounden duties towardes nature without labour and toyle, nor towardes their native countrey without procreation of children. They abstaine from no pleasure that doeth nothinge hinder them from laboure. They love the flesh of foure footed beastes, bicause they beleve that by that meate they be made hardier and stronger to woorke. The Utopians counte this secte the wiser, but the other the holier. Which in that they preferre single life before matrimony, and that sharp life before an easier life, if herein they grounded upon reason they would mock them. But now forasmuch as they say they be led to it by religion, they honor and worship them. And these be they whom in their language by a pecu-

It is not all one to be wise and good.

liar name, they cal Buthrescas, the which woord by interpretation signifieth to us men of religion or religious men.

Priestes.

They have priestes of exceding holines, and therefore very few. For there be but xiij. in every citie accordinge to the number of their churches, savyng when they go furthe to battell. For than vij. of them goo furth with the armie; in whose steades so manie newe be made at home. But the other at their retourne home again reentre every one into his owne place, they that be above the numbre, untill suche time as they succede into the places of the other at their dyinge, be in the meane season continuallie in companie with the bishoppe. For he is the chiefe heade of them al. They be chosen of the people, as the other magistrates be, by secrete voices for the avoydinge of strife. After their election they be consecrate of their own companie. They be overseers of al divine matters, orderers of religions, and as it wer judges and maisters of maners. And it is a great dishonestie and shame to be rebuked or spoken to by any of them for dissolute and incontinent living. But as it is their office to geve good exhortations and counsel, so is it the dutie of the prince and the other magistrates to correct and punishe offenders, saving that the priestes, whome they find exceading vicious

Excommunication.

livers, them they excommunicate from having anye interest in divine matters. And there is almoste no punishement amonge them more feared. For they runne in verye great infamie, and be inwardly tormented with a secret feare of religion, and shall not long scape free with their bodies. For unlesse they by quicke repentaunce approve the amendement of their lives to the priestes, they be taken and punished of the counsel, as wicked and irreligious. Both childhode and youth is in-

structed and taught of them. Nor they be not more diligente to instructe them in learning, then in vertue and good maners. For they use with verie great endevour and diligence to put into the heades of their children, whiles they be yet tender and pliaunte, good opinions and profitable for the conservation of their weale publique. Which when they be once rooted in children, do remayne with them al their life after, and be wonders profitable for the defence and maintenaunce of the state of the commen welth. Whiche never decaieth but throughe vices risinge of evill opinions. The priestes, onles they be women (for that kinde is not excluded from priesthoode, howbeit fewe be chosen, and none but widdowes and old women) the men priestes, I saye, take to their wifes the chiefest women in all their countreye. For to no office among the Utopians is more honour and preeminence geven. In so much that if they commit any offence, they be under no commen judgement, but be left only to God and themselfes. For thei thinke it not lawful to touch him with mannes hande, be he never so vitious, which after so singular a sort was dedicate and consecrate to God, as a holly offering. This maner may they easelye observe, bicause they have so fewe priestes, and do chuse them with such circumspection. For it scasely ever chaunceth that the moste vertuous amonge vertuous, which in respect only of his vertue is avaunced to so high a dignity, can fal to vice and wickednes. And if it should chaunce in dede (as mans nature is mutable and fraile) yet by reason they be so fewe and promoted to no might nor powre, but only to honoure, it were not to be feared that anye great dammage by them should happen and ensue to the commen wealthe. They have so rare and fewe priestes, least if the honour were

Women priestes.

The majestie and preeminence of priestes.

communicated to many, the digniti of the ordre, which among them now is so highly estemed, should rune in contempt. Speciallye bicause they thincke it hard to find many so good as to be meet for that dignity, to the execution and discharge whereof it is not sufficiente to be endued with meane vertues. Furthermore these priestes be not more estemed of their owne countrey men, then they be of forrein and straunge countreis. Which thinge maye hereby plainly appere. And I thinke also that this is the cause of it. For whiles the armies be fighting together in open feld they a litle beside, not farre of, knele upon their knees in their hallowed vestimentes, holding up their handes to heaven, praing first of all for peace, nexte for vyctory of their owne parte, but to neyther part a bluddy victory. If their host gette the upper hand, they runne in to the mayne battayle and restrayne their owne men from sleying and cruelly pursuinge theire vanquyshed enemies. Whyche enemyes, yf they doo but see them and speake to them, it is ynoughe for the savegarde of theire lyves. And the touching of theire clothes defendeth and saveth al their gooddes from ravine and spoyle. This thinge hathe avaunced them to so greate wourship and trewe majesty among al nations, that manye times they have as wel preserved theire own citizens from the cruel force of their enemies, as they have theire enemies from the furyous rage of theire owne men. For it is well knowen, that when theire owne army hathe reculed and in dyspayre turned backe and runne away, their ennemies fyerslye pursuing with slaughter and spoyle, then the priestes cumming betwene have stayed the murder, and parted bothe the hostes. So that peace hath bene made and concluded betwene bothe partes upon equall and indifferent conditions. For there was never any nation, so fierce, so

cruell and rude, but they hadde them in suche reverence, that they counted their bodyes hallowed and sanctified, and therefore not to be violentlye and unreverentlye touched.

The observacion of holy daies amonge the Utopians.

They kepe hollye the firste and the laste daye of every moneth and yeare, divydinge the yeare into monethes, whyche they measure by the course of the moone, as they doo the yeare by the course of the sonne. The fyrste dayes they call in theire language Lynemernes and the laste Trapemernes, the whyche woordes may be interpreted, primifeste and finifest, or els in our speache, first feaste and last feast. Their churches be verye gorgious and not onelye of fine and curious workemanship, but also (which in the fewenes of them was necessary) very wide and large, and hable to receave a great company of people. But they be al sumwhat darke. Howbeit that was not donne through ignoraunce in buildinge, but as they say, by the counsel of the priestes. Bicause they thought that over much light doth disperse mens cogitations, whereas in dimme and doubtful lighte they be gathered together, and more earnestly fixed upon religion and devotion; which bicause it is not there of one sort among all men, and yet all the kindes and fassions of it, thoughe they be sondry and manifold, agre together in the honour of the divine nature, as goyng divers wayes to one ende; therefore nothing is sene nor heard in the churches, but that semeth to agre indefferently with them all. If there be a distinct kind of sacrifice peculiar to anye several secte, that they execute at home in their owne houses. The common sacrifices be so ordered, that they be no derogation nor prejudice to anye of the private sacrifices and religions. Therefore no ymage

Their churcheis.

Churcheis of dimme light and a reason why.

of annye god is seene in the churche, to the intente it maye bee free for every man to conceive God by their religion after what likenes and similitude they will. They call upon no peculiar name of God, but only Mithra, in the which word they all agree together in one nature of the divine majesti whatsoever it be. No prayers bee used but suche as everye man maye boldelie pronounce withoute the offendinge of anny secte. They come therefore to the churche the laste day of everye moneth and yeare, in the evenynge yet fastinge, there to gyve thankes to GOD for that they have prosperouslye passed over the yeare or monethe, wherof that hollye daye is the laste daye. The nexte daye they come to the church earlye in the mornyng, to praye to GOD that they maye have good fortune and successe all the newe yeare or monethe whych they doo begynne of that same hollye daye. But in the holly dayes that be the laste dayes of the monethes and yeares, before they come to the churche, the wives fall downe prostrat before theire husbandes feet at home and the children before the feete of their parentes, confessinge and acknowleginge themselfes offenders either by some actuall dede, or by omission of their deuty, and desire pardon for their offense. Thus yf anye cloude of privy displeasure was risen at home, by this satisfaction it is overblowen, that they may be presente at the sacrifices with pure and charitable mindes. For they be aferd to come there with troubled consciences. Therefore if they knowe themselfes to beare anye hatred or grudge towardes anye man, they presume not to come to the sacrifices, before they have reconciled themselfes and purged theire consciences, for feare of greate vengeaunce and punyshemente for their offense. When they come thether, the men goo into the ryghte syde of the

The confession of the Utopians.

churche and the women into the lefte syde. There they place themselfes in suche ordre, that all they whyche be of the male kinde in every houshold sitte before the goodman of the house, and they of the female kinde before the goodwyfe. Thus it is forsene that all their gestures and behaviours be marked and observed abrode of them by whose authority and discipline they be governed at home. This also they diligently see unto, that the younger evermore be coupled with his elder, lest children beinge joyned together, they should passe over that time in childish wantonnes, wherin they ought principally to conceave a religious and devoute feare towardes God, which is the chieffe and almost the only incitation to vertu. They kill no living beast in sacrifice, nor they thinke not that the merciful clemencye of God hath delite in bloude and slaughter, which hath geven liffe to beastes to the intent they should live. They burne franckensense and other sweet savours, and light also a greate numbre of waxe candelles and tapers, not supposinge this geare to be any thing avaylable to the divine nature, as neither the prayers of men. But this unhurtful and harmeles kind of worship pleaseth them. And by thies sweet savoures and lightes, and other such ceremonies men feele themselfes secretlye lifted up and encouraged to devotion with more willynge and fervent hartes. The people weareethe in the churche white apparell. The priest is clothed in chaungeable colours. Whiche in workemanshipe bee excellent, but in stuffe not verye pretious. For theire vestimentes be neither embraudered with gold, nor set with precious stones. But they be wrought so fynely and conningelye with divers fethers of foules, that the estimation of no costely stuffe is hable to countervaile the price

An order for places in the churche.

Ceremonies.

of the worke. Furthermore in these birdes fethers, and in the dewe ordre of them, whiche is observed in theire setting, they saye, is conteyned certaine divine misteries. The interpretation whereof knowen, whiche is diligentlye taught by the priestes, they be put in remembraunce of the bountifull benefites of God towarde them; and of the love and honoure whiche of theire behalfe is dewe to God; and also of their deuties one towarde another. When the priest first commeth out of the vestry thus apparelled, they fall downe incontinent everye one reverentlye to the ground, with so still silence on everye part, that the very fassion of the thinge striketh into them a certayne feare of God, as though he were there personally presente. When they have lien a litle space on the ground, the priest gevethe them a signe for to ryse. Then they sing prayses unto God, whiche they intermixt with instrumentes of musicke, for the moste parte of other fassions then these that we use in this parte of the worlde. And like as some of ours bee muche sweter then theirs, so some of theirs doo farre passe ours. But in one thinge doubtles they goo exceding farre beyonde us. For all their musike bothe that they playe upon instrumentes, and that they singe with mannes voyce dothe so resemble and expresse naturall affections, the sound and tune is so applied and made agreable to the thinge, that whether it bee a prayer, or els a dytty of gladnes, of patience, of trouble, of mournynge, or of anger; the fassion of the melodye dothe so represente the meaning of the thing, that it doth wonderfullye move, stirre, pearce and enflame the hearers myndes. At the laste the people and the priest together rehearse solempne prayers in woordes, expreslye pronounced, so made that everye man maye privatelye applye to hym-

Theire church-musike.

Prayers.

selfe that which is commonlye spoken of all. In these prayers everye man recognisethe and knowledgethe God to be hys maker, hys governoure and the principal cause of all other goodnes, thankynge him for so many benefites receaved at his hande. But namelye that throughe the favoure of God he hath chaunced into that publyque weale, whiche is moste happye and welthye, and hathe chosen that religion, whyche he hopeth to be moste true. In the whyche thinge if he doo anye thinge erre, or yf there be any other better then eyther of them is, being more acceptable to God, he desierethe him that he wyl of his goodnes let him have knowledge thereof, as one that is ready too followe what way soever he wyll leade hym. But yf this fourme and fassion of a commen wealthe bee beste, and his owne relygion most true and perfecte, then he desyrethe GOD to gyve hym a constaunte stedefastnes in the same, and too brynge all other people to the same ordre of lyvynge and to the same opinion of God, onles there bee annye thinge that in this diversitye of religions dothe delite his unsercheable pleasure. To be shorte he prayeth hym that after his deathe he maye come to hym. But how soone or late that he dare not assygne or determine. Howebeit, if it myght stande with his majesties pleasure, he woulde be muche gladder to dye a paynefull deathe and so to goo to God, then by longe lyving in worldlye prosperitye to bee awaye from him. Whan this prayer is said they fal doune to the ground again and a lytle after they ryse up and go to dinner. And the resydewe of the daye they passe over in playes and exercise of chevalrye.

Nowe I have declared and described unto you, as truelye as I coulde the fourme and ordre of that commen wealth, which verely in my judgment is not only the beste,

but also that which alone of good right maye claime and take upon it the name of a commen wealth or publique weale. For in other places they speake stil of the commen wealth, but every man procureth his owne private gaine. Here where nothinge is private, the commen affaires bee earnestlye loked upon. And truely on both partes they have good cause so to do as they do. For in other countreys who knoweth not that he shall sterve for honger, onles he make some severall provision for himselfe, though the commen wealthe floryshe never so muche in ryches? And therefore he is compelled even of verye necessitie to have regarde to him selfe, rather then to the people, that is to saye, to other. Contrarywyse there, where all thinges be commen to every man, it is not to be doubted that any man shal lacke anye thinge necessary for his private uses, so that the commen store houses and bernes be sufficientlye stored. For there nothinge is distributed after a nyggyshe sorte, neither there is anye poore man or begger. And thoughe no man have anye thinge, yet everye man is ryche. For what can be more riche, then to lyve joyfully and merely, without al griefe and pensifenes; not caring for his owne lyving, nor vexed or troubled with his wifes importunate complayntes, nor dreadynge povertie to his sonne, nor sorrowyng for his doughters dowrey? Yea they take no care at all for the lyvyng and wealthe of themselfes and al theirs, of theire wyfes, theire chyldren, theire nephewes, theire childrens chyldren, and all the succession that ever shall followe in theire posteritie. And yet besydes this there is no lesse provision for them that were ones labourers and be nowe weake and impotent, then for them that do nowe laboure and take payne. Here nowe woulde I see, yf anye man dare bee so bolde as to compare with this equytie, the justice of other nations; among whom, I forsake God, if I

can fynde any signe or token of equitie and justice. For what justice is this, that a ryche goldesmythe, or an usurer, or to bee shorte, anye of them which either doo nothing at all, or els that whyche they doo is such that it is not very necessary to the common wealth, should have a pleasaunte and a welthie lyvinge, either by idlenes, or by unnecessarye busines; when in the meane tyme poore labourers, carters, yronsmythes, carpenters and plowmen, by so greate and continual toyle, as drawing and bearinge beastes be skant hable to susteine, and againe so necessary toyle, that without it no common wealth were hable to continewe and endure one yere, should yet get so harde and poore a lyving, and lyve so wretched and miserable a lyfe, that the state and condition of the labouringe beastes maye seme muche better and welthier? For they be not put to soo continuall laboure, nor theire lyvinge is not muche worse, yea to them muche pleasaunter, takynge no thoughte in the meane season for the tyme to come. But these seilye poore wretches be presently tormented with barreyne and unfrutefull labour. And the remembraunce of theire poore indigent and beggerlye olde age kylleth them up. For theire dayly wages is so lytle, that it will not suffice for the same daye, muche lesse it yeldeth any overplus, that may daylye be layde up for the relyefe of olde age. Is not this an unjust and an unkynde publyque weale, whyche gyveth great fees and rewardes to gentlemen, as they call them, and to goldsmythes, and to suche other, whiche be either ydle persones, or els onlye flatterers, and devysers of vayne pleasures; and of the contrary parte maketh no gentle provision for poore plowmen, coliars, laborers, carters, yronsmythes, and carpenters: without whome no commen wealthe can continewe? But after it hath abused the labours of theire lusty and flowring age, at the laste when they be oppressed with

olde age and syckenes, being nedye, poore, and indigent of all thinges, then forgettyng their so manye paynefull watchinges, not remembring their so manye and so greate benefites, recompenseth and acquyteth them moste unkyndly with myserable death. And yet besides this the riche men not only by private fraud, but also by commen lawes, do every day pluck and snatche awaye from the poore some parte of their daily living. So whereas it semed before unjuste to recompense with unkindnes their paynes that have bene beneficiall to the publique weale, nowe they have to this their wrong and unjuste dealinge (which is yet a muche worse pointe) geven the name of justice, yea and that by force of a lawe. Therfore when I consider and way in my mind all these commen wealthes, which now a dayes any where do florish, so God helpe me, I can perceave nothing but a certein conspiracy of riche men procuringe theire owne commodities under the name and title of the commen wealth. They invent and devise all meanes and craftes, first how to kepe safely, without feare of lesing, that they have unjustly gathered together, and next how to hire and abuse the worke and laboure of the poore for as litle money as may be. These devises, when the riche men have decreed to be kept and observed under coloure of the comminaltie, that is to saye, also of the pore people, then they be made lawes. But these most wicked and vicious men, when they have by their unsatiable covetousnes devided among them selves al those thinges, whiche woulde have sufficed all men, yet how farre be they from the welth and felicitie of the Utopian commen wealth? Out of the which, in that all the desire of money with the use thereof is utterly secluded and banished, howe greate a heape of cares is cut away! How great an occasion of wickednes and mischiefe is plucked up

Contempte of money.

by the rotes! For who knoweth not, that fraud, theft, rauine, brauling, quarelling, brabling, striffe, chiding, contention, murder, treason, poisoning, which by daily punishmentes are rather revenged then refrained, do dye when money dieth? And also that feare, griefe, care, laboures and watchinges do perish even the very same moment that money perisheth? Yea poverty it selfe, which only semed to lacke money, if money were gone, it also would decrease and vanishe away. And that you may perceave this more plainly, consider with your selfes some barein and unfruteful yeare, wherin manye thousandes of people have starved for honger. I dare be bolde to say, that in the end of that penury so much corne or grain might have bene found in the rich mens bernes, if they had bene searched, as being divided among them whome famine and pestilence then consumed, no man at al should have felt that plague and penuri. So easely might men gette their living, if that same worthye princesse, lady money, did not alone stop up the waye betwene us and our lyving, which a Goddes name was very excellently devised and invented, that by her the way therto should be opened. I am sewer the ryche men perceave this, nor they be not ignoraunte how much better it were too lacke noo necessarye thing, then to abunde with overmuche superfluite; to be ryd oute of innumerable cares and troubles, then to be beseiged and encombred with great ryches. And I dowte not that either the respecte of every mans private commoditie, or els the authority of oure savioure Christe (which for his great wisdom could not but know what were best, and for his inestimable goodnes could not but counsel to that which he knew to be best) wold have brought all the worlde longe agoo into the lawes of this weale publique, if it wer not that one only beast, the princesse and mother of all mischiefe,

A mervelous sayinge.

Pryde.

pride, doth withstande and let it. She measurethe not wealth and prosperity by her owne commodities, but by the miserie and incommodities of other; she would not by her good will be made a goddesse, yf there were no wretches left, over whom she might, like a scorneful ladie, rule and triumph, over whose miseries her felicities mighte shyne, whose povertie she myghte vexe, tormente and encrease by gorgiouslye settynge furthe her richesse. Thys hellhounde creapeth into mens hartes, and plucketh them backe from entering the right pathe of life, and is so depely roted in mens brestes, that she can not be plucked out. This fourme and fashion of a weale publique, which I would gladly wish unto al nations, I am glad yet that it hath chaunced to the Utopians, which have folowed those institutions of life, whereby they have laid such foundations of their common wealth, as shal continew and last not only wealthely, but also, as far as mans wit may judge and conjecture, shall endure for ever. For, seyng the chiefe causes of ambition and sedition with other vices be plucked up by the rootes and abandoned at home, there can be no jeopardie of domisticall dissention, whiche alone hathe caste under foote and brought to noughte the well fort[i]fied and stronglie defenced wealthe and riches of many cities. But forasmuch as perfect concorde remaineth, and wholsome lawes be executed at home, the envie of al forein princes be not hable to shake or move the empire, though they have many tymes long ago gone about to do it, beyng evermore driven backe.

Thus when Raphaell hadde made an ende of his tale, though many thinges came to my mind, which in the maners and lawes of that people semed to be instituted and founded of no good reason, not onely in the fashion of their chevalry, *and in* their sacrifices and religions, and in other of their

lawes, but also, yea and chiefly, in that which is the principal foundation of al their ordinaunces, that is to say, in the communitie of their life and livynge, withoute anye occupieng of money, by the whiche thinge onelye all nobilitie, magnificence, wourshippe, honour and maiestie, the true ornamentes and honoures, as the common opinion is, of a common wealth, utterlye be overthrowen and destroied; yet because I knew that he was wery of talking, and was not sure whether he coulde abyde that anye thynge shoulde be sayde againste hys mynde; speciallye remembrynge that he had reprehended this faulte in other, which be aferde lest they should seme not to be wise enough, onles they could find some fault in other mens inventions; therfore I praising both their institutions and hys communication, toke him by the hand, and led him in to supper; sayinge that we woulde chuese an other time to waye and examine the same matters, and to talke with him moore at large therin. Whiche woulde God it might ones come to passe. In the meane time, as I can not agree and consent to all thinges that he saide, beyng els without doubt a man singularly well learned, and also in all worldelye matters exactly and profoundly experienced, so must I nedes confesse and graunt that many thinges be in the Utopian weale publique, whiche in our cities I maye rather wishe for, then hope after.

¶ Thus endeth the afternoones talke of Raphael Hythlodaye concerning the lawes and institutions of the Ilande of Utopia

¶ To the right honourable Hierome Buslyde, prouost of Arienn, and counselloure to the catholike kinge Charles, Peter Gyles, Citizein of Antwerpe, wisheth health and felicitie.

THOMAS MORE the singular ornamente of this our age, as you your self (right honourable Buslide) can witnesse, to whome he is perfectly wel knowen, sent unto me this other day the ylande of Utopia, to very few as yet knowen, but most worthy; which, as farre excelling Platoes commen wealthe, all people shoulde be willinge to know; specially of a man most eloquent so finely set furth, so conningly painted out and so evidently subiect to the eye, that as oft as I reade it, me thinketh that I see somwhat more, then when I heard Raphael Hythloday himselfe (for I was present at that talke as well as master More) utteryng and pronouncing his owne woordes. Yea, though the same man, accordinge to his pure eloquence, did so open and declare the matter, that he might plainely enough appeare, to reporte not thinges which he had learned of others onelye by hearesay, but which he had with his own eyes presently sene and throughly vewed, and wherin he had no smal time bene conversant and abiding; a man trulie, in mine opinion, as touching the knowledge of regions, peoples and worldly experience, muche passinge, yea even they very famous and renowmed travailer Ulysses; and in dede suche a one, as for the space of these viij. c. yeres past I think nature into the worlde brought not furth his like; in comparison of whome Vespuce maye be thought to have sene nothing. Moreover, wheras we be wont more effectually and pitthely to declare

and expresse thinges that we have sene, then whiche we have but onelye hearde, there was besides that in this man a certen peculiar grace, and singular dexteritie to discrive and set furth a matter withall. Yet the selfe same thinges as ofte as I beholde and consider them drawen and painted oute with master Mores pensille, I am therwith so moved, so delited, so inflamed and so rapt, that sometime me think I am presently conversaunt, even in the ylande of Utopia. And I promise you, I can skante beleve that Raphael himselfe by al that five yeres space that he was in Utopia abiding, saw there so much, as here in master Mores description is to be sene and perceaved. Whiche description with so manye wonders, and miraculous thinges is replenished, that I stande in great doubt wherat first and chieflie to muse or marveile; whether at the excellencie of his perfect and suer memorie, which could wel niegh worde by woorde rehearse so manye thinges once onely heard; or elles at his singular prudence, who so well and wittyly marked and bare away al the originall causes and fountaynes (to the vulgare people commenly most unknowen) wherof both yssueth and springeth the mortall confusion and utter decaye of a commen wealth, and also the avauncement and wealthy state of the same may riese and growe; or elles at the efficacie and pitthe of his woordes, which in so fine a Latin stile, with suche force of eloquence hath couched together and comprised so many and divers matters, speciallie beinge a man continuallie encombred with so manye busye and troublesome cares, both publique and private, as he is. Howbeit all these thinges cause you litle to marvell (righte honourable Buslid) for that you are familiarly and throughly acquainted with the notable, yea almost divine witte of the man. But nowe to procede to other matters, I suerly know nothing nedeful or requisite to be adjoyned unto his writ-

inges, onely a meter of iiij. verses written in the Utopian tongue, whiche after master Mores departure Hythloday by chaunce shewed me, that have I caused to be added thereto, with the alphabete of the same nation, and have also garnished the margent of the boke with certen notes. For, as touchinge the situation of the ylande, that is to saye, in what parte of the worlde Utopia standeth, the ignoraunce and lacke whereof not a litle troubleth and greveth master More, in dede Raphael left not that unspoken of. Howbeit with verie fewe wordes he lightly touched it, incidentlye by the way passing it over, as meanyng of likelihod to kepe and reserve that to an other place. And the same, I wot not how, by a certen evell and unluckie chaunce escaped us bothe. For when Raphael was speaking therof, one of master Mores servauntes came to him and whispered in his eare. Wherefore I beyng then of purpose more earnestly addict to heare, one of the company, by reason of cold taken, I thinke, a shippeborde, coughed out so loude, that he toke from my hearinge certen of his wordes. But I wil never stynte nor rest, until I have gotte the full and exacte knowledge hereof; insomuche that I will be hable perfectly to instructe you, not onely in the longitude or true meridian of the ylande, but also in the just latitude therof, that is to say, in the sublevation or height of the pole in that region, if our frende Hythloday be in safetie and alive. For we heare very uncerten newes of him. Some reporte, that he died in his jorney homewarde. Some agayne affirme, that he retorned into his countrey, but partly for that he coulde not away with the fashions of his countrey folk, and partly for that his minde and affection was altogether set and fixed upon Utopia, they say that he hathe taken his voyage thetherwarde agayne. Now as touching this, that the name of this yland is nowhere founde amonge the olde and auncient

cosmographers, this doubte Hythloday himselfe verie well dissolved. For why it is possible enoughe (quod he) that the name, whiche it had in olde time, was afterwarde chaunged, or elles that they never had knowledge of this iland; forasmuch as now in our time divers landes be found, which to the olde geographers were unknowen. Howbeit, what nedeth it in this behalfe to fortifie the matter with argumentes, seynge master More is author hereof sufficient? But whereas he doubteth of the edition or imprinting of the booke, in deede herein I both commende, and also knowledge the mannes modestie. Howbeit unto me it semeth a worke most unworthie to be long suppressed, and most worthy to go abrod into the handes of men, yea, and under the title of youre name to be publyshed to the worlde; either because the singular endowmentes and qualities of master More be to no man better knowen then to you, or els bicause no man is more fitte and meete, then you with good counselles to further and avaunce the commen wealth, wherin you have many yeares already continued and travailed with great glory and commendation, bothe of wisedome and knowledge, and also of integritie and uprightnes. Thus, O liberall supporter of good learninge, and floure of this oure time, I byd you moste hartely well to fare.

At Antwerpe 1516. the first daye of November.

A meter of iiij. verses in the Utopian tongue, briefely touchinge as well the straunge beginning, as also the happie and wealthie continuance of the same common wealthe.

UTopos ha Boccas peula chama polta chamaan.
Bargol he maglomi Baccan foma gymnosophaon.
Agrama gymnosophon labarem bacha bodamilomin.
Voluala barchin heman la lauoluala dramme pagloni.

¶ Whiche verses the translator, accordinge to his simple knowledge, and meane understanding in the Utopian tongue, hath thus rudely Englished.

MY kinge and conquerour Utopus by name,
A prince of much renowme and immortall fame,
Hath made me an yle that earst no ylande was,
Ful fraight with worldly welth with pleasure and solas.
I one of all other without philosophie
Have shaped for man a philosophicall citie.
As myne I am nothinge daungerous to imparte,
So better to receave I am readie with al my harte.

¶ A shorte meter of Utopia, written by Anemolius poete laureate, and nephewe to Hythlodaye by his sister.

ME Utopie cleped Antiquitie,
Voyde of haunte and herboroughe,
Nowe am I like to Platoes citie,
Whose fame flieth the worlde throughe.

Yea like, or rather more likely
Platoes platte to excell and passe.
For what Platoes penne hathe platted briefely
In naked wordes, as in a glasse,
The same have I perfourmed fully,
With lawes, with men, and treasure fyttely.
Wherfore not Utopie, but rather rightely
My name is Eutopie; a place of felicitie.

¶ Gerarde Nouiomage of Utopia.

DOth pleasure please? then place the here and well the rest,
Most pleasaunt pleasures thou shalte finde here.
Doeth profit ease? then here arrive, this yle is best.
For passinge profettes do here appeare.
Doeth bothe thee tempte, and woldest thou gripe both gaine and pleasure?
This yle is fraight with both bounteously.
To still thy gredie intent, reape here incomparable treasure
Bothe minde and tongue to garnishe richelie.
The hid welles and fountaines both of vice and virtue
Thou hast them here subject unto thine eye.
Be thankful now, and thankes where thankes be due
Geve to Thomas More Londons immortal glorye.

¶ Cornelius Graphy to the Reader.

Wilt thou knowe what wonders straunge be in the lande that late was founde?
Wilte thou learne thy life to leade by divers ways that godly be?
Wilt thou of vertue and of vice understande the very grounde?

Wilt thou see this wretched world, how ful it is of vanitie?
Then read and marke and beare in mind for thy behoufe, as thou maie best.
All thinges that in this present worke, that worthie clerke sir Thomas More,
With witte divine ful learnedly, unto the worlde hath plaine exprest,
In whom London well glory maye, for wisedome and for godly lore.

ℭ The Printer to the Reader.

THe Utopian alphabete, good reader, whiche in the above written epistle is promised, hereunto I have not now adjoyned, because I have not as yet the true characters or fourmes of the Utopiane letters. And no marveill, seyng it is a tongue to us muche straunger then the Indian, the Persian, the Syrian, the Arabicke, the Egyptian, the Macedonian, the Sclavonian, the Ciprian, the Scythian etc. Which tongues though they be nothing so straunge among us, as the Utopian is, yet their characters we have not. But I trust, God willing, at the next impression hereof, to perfourme that whiche nowe I can not, that is to saye, to exhibite perfectly unto thee, the Utopian alphabete. In the meane time accept my good wyl. And so fare well.

ℭ Imprinted at London in Paules Churche yarde, at the sygne of the Lambe, by Abraham Veale.
M.D.LVI.

NOTES

ON

THE LIFE OF SIR THOMAS MORE.

P. v. *Life of Sir Thomas More.* The date of More's birth was Feb. 7, 1477—8. This has been conclusively established by the discovery of some entries of the birthdays of the family in a MS. in Trinity College Library in Cambridge. The discovery was made by Mr W. Aldis Wright, Fellow of Trinity College, and the whole series of entries and a full discussion of them may be found in Seebohm's *Oxford Reformers*, Appendix C (2nd Ed., pp. 521 seqq.). The entry relating to Sir Thomas More is as follows:

"M[d]. quod die Veneris proximo post Festum purificacionis beate Marie Virginis videlicet septimo die Februarij inter horam secundam et horam terciam in mane natus fuit Thomas More filius Johannis More Gent. Anno Regni Regis Edwardi quarte post conquestum Anglie decimo septimo."

P. v., line 1. *Lord Chauncelor.* More became Lord Chancellor of England after the removal of Cardinal Wolsey from that office, Oct. 25 in the 21st year of Henry VIII. (i.e. A.D. 1529). He held office till May 16, 1532.

3. *Erasmus.* Of the attachment of Erasmus to More there are abundant evidences in all his letters in which he speaks of him, and many instances are quoted in the Notes to Seebohm's *Oxford Reformers*, a book to which every student of the times when More lived must, as I do, acknowledge himself deeply indebted.

So united in spirit was Erasmus to More that in one letter to Peter Tomicius, Bishop of Cracow (dated Basle, 31 August, 1535), he says, "In Moro mihi videor extinctus adeo *μία ψυχὴ* juxta Pythagoram duobus erat."

9. *William Roper.* This was the son of Sir John Roper, a protonotary of the King's Bench. He was born in the parish of St Dunstan's, Canterbury, and married Margaret, the eldest daughter of Sir Thomas More. Much is said in Wood's account of Sir T. More about the learning of this daughter, which won the praises of Erasmus and Cardinal Pole. She died in 1544. Her husband outlived her, and died

at the age of 82 in the year 1577. All their married life till the death of Sir Thomas More they lived in his house. Hence the fitness of Roper to write a biography of his father-in-law.

21. *worthines of them*, i.e. of the noble deeds which he has undertaken to record. The pronoun does not refer to "frendes of myne."

26. *St. Anthonie's in London.* This school is mentioned by Stow, *Survey of London*, p. 190, as in Broadstreet Ward and connected with the Hospital of St Anthony, which had in former times been a synagogue of the Jews. The school was endowed in the reign of Henry VI. with funds for the maintenance of five scholars in the University of Oxford. Besides More, Stow mentions (p. 65), among the famous scholars of St Anthonie's, Dr Nicholas Heath, successively Bishop of Rochester, Worcester, and the Archbishop of York and Lord Chancellor, and Dr John Whitgift, Bishop of Worcester, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. Stow also relates that in his own days St Anthonie's commonly presented the best scholars and had the prize among the schools in London.

P. vi., line 2. *Cardinall Mourton.* For a notice of Morton, see notes on the text, p. 192.

12. *at Oxford.* The most probable date for More's residence in Oxford is 1492 and 1493. More must have been in the house of Archbishop Morton before that prelate became Cardinal, which event took place in 1493. See Seebohm, *Oxford Reformers*, pp. 24, 25.

15. *New Inne.* Mentioned by Stow (p. 66) as one of the Houses of Chancery without Temple Bar, and in the liberty of Westminster. It was in what is now Wych Street. It was made, he tells us (p. 493), an Inn of Chancery in the reign of Henry VII. More was a member of this Inn in 1492 and 1493, cp. Seebohm, p. 25 *n*.

20. *St. Laurence.* Grocyn was Rector of St Lawrence until 1517, and it was no doubt on this account that More's lectures were given in that Church. Grocyn had been More's teacher in Greek at Oxford.

25. *Charterhouse.* This foundation, now best known as a school, was originally a house of Carthusian Monks, founded by Sir Walter Manny in 1371. The name is a corruption of the French *Chartreux*, the place where the first Carthusian monastery was established.

It was in the reign of James I., 1614, that the school, which until lately occupied this site, viz. without the Bars of West Smithfield, was founded through the munificence of Thomas Sutton, whom Stow calls "the right Phœnix of charity in our times."

32. *best favored*, i.e. prettiest to look upon. Cp. "Joseph was a goodly person and *well favoured*." Gen. xxxix. 6.

36. *married her.* This was Jane Colt, of New Hall in Essex. The marriage took place in 1505. In Cresacre More's *Life of Sir Thomas More*, p. 39, it is said that this marriage was made by Colet's advice and direction. The children of the marriage were Margaret (afterwards the wife of William Roper), Elizabeth and Cicely, and a son younger than his sisters, and perhaps born in 1509, named John More. Their mother died in 1511 or 1512. Cresacre More (p. 40) says "she lived but some six years." In 1515 More again married. *His second wife*, a widow, was named Alice Middleton, and More

took her daughter into his household. For mention of this lady, see p. xlv.

P. vii., line 4. *Bucklesburie* (otherwise *Bucklersbury*). This street, which was situate below the Poultry, is described in Stow's *Survey of London*, pp. 246 and 276, as partly in Wallbrook Ward and partly in the Ward of Cheap. He says "it was so called of a Manor and Tenements of one Buckle who dwelled there." This Buckle is said to have been a grocer, and when Stow wrote he said, "The whole street is now, on both sides throughout, possessed of Grocers and Apothecaries." Hence we can understand the expression which Shakespeare puts into the mouth of Falstaff (*Merry Wives*, III. 3) who, describing a fop, says he "smells like Bucklersbury in simple time:" *simples* being the herbs with which the apothecaries' shops were well supplied.

10. *Parliament.* This was the Parliament assembled in the spring of 1503—4. The notorious Dudley was the Speaker, and an agent suited to the avaricious character which had so strongly developed itself in Henry VII.

11. *three fifteenes.* In the previous Parliament, 1496—7, Henry had exacted a subsidy of two-fifteenths in prospect of a war with Scotland, and finding this so easily obtained, his demands grew greater. A *fifteenth* of the three estates (that is of the Lords, the Commons and the Clergy in Convocation, who at this time assessed their own taxation) was estimated in 1500 by the Venetian ambassador at £37,930. The amount of a fifteenth was fixed by law in 1334. On this matter see Blackstone's *Commentaries* (vol. 1, p. 310), also *Italian Relation of England*, p. 52. Camden Society.

12. *his eldest daughter.* This was Princess Margaret, who was married to James IV. of Scotland in 1502, and from whom was descended James VI. (afterwards James I. of England), his mother, Mary queen of Scots, being daughter of James V. and grand-daughter of James IV.

22. *his Father.* John More was one of the Commissioners for Hertfordshire for the collection of the subsidy, and it would be easy under the circumstances to fix blame on such a man.

25. *Dr Fox bishopp of Winchester.* Dr Richard Fox, who had previously been Bishop of Exeter (1486—1491), then Bishop of Bath and Wells (1491—1494), next Bishop of Durham (1495—1502), was made Bishop of Winchester in 1502, and filled that see till his death in 1530. He was, while Bishop of Winchester, also Lord Privy Seal, which accounts for his position at court as described in the text.

35. *a Father of Sion*, i.e. belonging to the famous monastery called Sion, or more fully "The monastery of St Saviour and St Bridget of Sion." It was situate at Isleworth on the banks of the Thames, and was founded by King Henry V. At the dissolution of monasteries it had an annual revenue equal to £20,000 of modern money. Although it was an order of Nuns there was associated with it a small number of monastic clergy and laymen, the former of whom were to act as chaplains. For a full account of the monastery, see Introduction to *Myroure of our Lady*. E. E. T. Society, Extra Series, xix.

P. viii., line 4. *soone after died.* Henry VII. died 25 April, 1509.

The Parliament was held rather more than four years before the king's death.

9. *without greefe*, i.e. easily, with no great effort.

12. *of counsell*, i.e. a counsellor. He was always employed as counsel by one side or the other in all important causes.

17. *twise Embassador*. The first Embassy was in May, 1515 to Flanders, to settle some international disputes between the two countries. The ambassadors were detained in Bruges about four months, and it was not till the end of the year that More returned home with a successful issue to the labours of the Embassy. He himself had been entrusted with the arrangement of some special commercial matters that were also in dispute.

More's second embassy was to Calais in 1517 to settle disputes between French and English merchants.

18. *Stilliard*. The Stilliarde or Steelyard was formerly the business position of the Hanse Merchants, who are said to have obtained a settlement in London as early as the year 1250. The name is derived from the king's steelyard or beam erected here for weighing the tonnage of goods imported into London. The king's beam was afterwards removed to Cornhill, and then to Weigh-house Yard in Little East Cheap. The Hanse Merchants (i.e. the merchants of the free towns of Germany) had great privileges granted to them at various times, but in 1598 they were expelled from England by a proclamation of Queen Elizabeth. The Old Steelyard was on the site of the present Cannon Street Station.

21. *Woolsie, (then Lord Chancellor)*. Wolsey was Lord Chancellor from Dec. 7, 1516 till 25 Oct., 1529.

23. *travelled*, i.e. travailed, laboured hard. On the whole matter see Seebohm, *Oxford Reformers*, p. 380.

26. *of his honor*, i.e. for his honour's sake.

louse = lose.

32. *the Pope's Embassador*. This appears to have been Cardinal Campeggio, who was at this time in England. Campeggio was a man skilled in law (or as Roper terms it, "a singular Civilian"), as may be seen from Polydore Vergil's account of him (p. 1655) under the year 1518. "Laur. Campegius, homo Bononiensis, inter juris consultos *juris consultissimus*." The Papal throne at this time was filled by Leo X. (1513—1522).

P. ix., line 15. *no better roome*, i.e. no more honourable place.

20. *travers*. This word first of all signified a *moveable screen*. Cp. Nares' *Glossary*, s. v. "At the approach of the countesse into the greate chamber, the hoboyes played untill the roome was marshaled, which once ordered, a *travers* slided away."

Then *a cross seat or bench*, cp. Fabyan, *Chronicle*, anno 1425. "From whence he was borne unto the hygh aulter, and there kneled in a *travers* purveyed for him."

In the text it seems to be used either for some such private seat, or for a private room separated by a screen or *travers*.

24. *into the leades*, i.e. upon the leads at the top of the house, a suitable place for observation of the stars.

29. *to be merry.* The construction is broken. The sense intended is "that he should be merry with them."

P. x., line 4. *a Parliament.* This Parliament assembled in the Blackfriars 15 April, 1523. For a full account of the proceedings, see Lord Herbert's *Life of Henry VIII.*, pp. 134 seqq.

12. *the Legat,* i.e. Cardinal Wolsey. The Bull whereby he was created *Legatus a latere* is dated 10 June, 1509.

26. *that is,* i.e. which is. The construction is "Anything...which is...to be declared."

P. xi., line 18. *politicke,* i.e. like the Greek πολιτικός, one skilled in the arts of government.

20. *like...like,* i.e. equally...equally.

27. *fortuneth amonge.* Roper seems to have used *among* in the sense of "amidst what is being done" somewhat as we should now use "at times," "on occasion," "occasionally." See p. xii. 15, "In every thinge incident *among*" = "in every thing that *from time to time* occurs."

P. xii., line 31. *to be there present himself.* Lord Herbert (p. 136) describes what happened thus: "The Cardinal...coming to the Lower House of Parliament, told them that he desired to reason with those who opposed his demands; but being answered that it was the order of that House to hear, and not to reason but among themselves, the Cardinal departed." This explains the persistent silence described on the next page.

37. *lightnes of our toungs.* Alluding to the charge which the Cardinal had made that all that was done "was immediatly blowne abroad in every Alehouse."

P. xiii., line 2. *pillars.* This was the name given to some ornamental silver staves formerly carried before a Cardinal, and Wolsey was remarkable for keeping up this piece of State. In the stage directions for his solemn entry (*Hen. VIII.*, II. 4) it is said, "Then two gentlemen bearing *two great silver pillars.*" Cavendish, in his *Life of Wolsey*, mentions the *pillars* and *pillar-bearers;* and Skelton describes the Cardinal as going

> "With worldly pompe incredible
> Before him rydeth two prestes stronge
> And they bear two *crosses* right longe
> Gapyng in every man's face
> After them folowe two laye-men secular
> And each of them holdyng a *pillar*
> In their handes, steade of a mace."

his hatt. Lord Herbert (p. 57) says "Wolsey caused also the Cardinal's Hat to be borne by some principal person before him on a great height, and when he came to the King's Chapel would admit no place to rest it on, but the very altar." He also in the context gives a notice of the bearers of *maces, pillars* and *crosses* in the Cardinal's processions.

14. *seeth,* i.e. *sith* = since.

30. *able to amaze*, i. e. one calculated to inspire with amazement.

P. xiv., line 5. *Roome*, i.e. Rome. For the pronunciation of this word to rhyme with *doom* and for the play upon it, cp. Shaks. *Jul. Cæsar*, I. 2. 156:

> "Now is it Rome indeed and room enough,
> When there is in it but one only man."

8. *Gallerie at Hampton Court.* The palace at Hampton Court was built by Wolsey. But (says Lord Herbert, p. 165) as he wisely considered that it would but add unto that envy, for which he had already suffered so much, he gave it to the king, who in exchange permitted him to live in Richmond House.

12. *Embassador into Spaine.* This was most probably in 1525, after the battle of Pavia, when Cuthbert Tunstall (then Bishop of London and Lord Privy Seal) and Sir Richard Wingfield were sent into Spain. Cp. Lord Herbert, *History of Henry VIII.* p. 158.

18. *complection. Complexion* was used in old English for "general habit of body," of which the complexion (in the modern sense) was the outward sign. Four complexions were distinguished, *sanguine, phlegmatic, choleric* and *melancholic.*

29. *Chauncelor of the Duchie of Lancaster.* More's appointment to this office was in the year 1526.

P. xv., line 35. *Embassador twise.* More's name appears in Rymer's *Fœdera*, 30 April, 1527, as English Commissioner in a treaty between Francis I. and Henry VIII., and again 5 Aug., 1529, in the league of Cambray, and in both he is styled Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

P. xvi., line 5. *and*, more frequently written *an*=if.

P. xvii., line 10. *the seaven Psalmes*, i.e. the seven penitential Psalms, viz. the vi., xxxii., xxxviii., li., cii., cxxx., cxliii.

24. *no maystrie*, i.e. no excellence, superiority or merit. Cp. Chaucer's Monk (*Prologue*, 165), who was "fair for the maistrie," i.e. in a fair way to be at the head of his house.

P. xviii., line 8. *shrewd tournes*, i. e. mischievous tricks.

25. *the sweatinge sicknes.* In his *Life of Henry VII.* Bacon gives the following description of this disease (p. 12, Pitt Press Series): "Towards the end of September there began and reigned in the city...a disease then new, which by the accidents and manner thereof they called the sweating sickness. This disease had a swift course both in the sick body and in the time and period of the lasting thereof...It was a pestilent fever, but as it seemeth not seated in the veins or humours, for there followed no carbuncle, no purple or livid spots or the like, the mass of the body being not tainted; only a malign vapour flew to the heart and seized the vital spirits, which stirred nature to strive and send it forth by an extreme sweat." This sickness was prevalent in England in 1517. See Lord Herbert, *Life of Hen. VIII.* p. 69.

34. *his new lodginge.* Described p. xvii. 17.

P. xix., line 1. *incontinent*=immediately. Cp. Shaks. *Rich. II.* ad fin.:

> "And put on sullen black *incontinent*."

3. *by and by*=at once.

9. *God's markes.* By this name certain spots on the body were called, which, in this disease, were regarded as signs of certain death. The statement of Roper here somewhat contradicts Bacon's description of the disease, which is given above.

17. *See of Rome chaunced to be voyd*, i.e. by the death of Leo X, which took place Dec. 1, 1521. Wolsey sent Dr Richard Pace, Dean of St Paul's, to Rome to support his claims, and made the strongest representations and promises to the emperor Charles. See Lord Herbert, p. 110.

22. *Cardinal Adrian.* Afterwards Pope Adrian VI. He was only Pope for one year (1522—3).

P. xx., line 1. *Aunt to the Emperour.* For Catharine was a daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, and Joanna the wife of Philip of Spain and mother of Charles the Emperor was her elder sister.

8. *one of the French Sisters.* This was the Duchess of Alençon, sister to Francis I. According to Hall's *Chronicle*, her picture was sent over about this time for Henry to see. Cp. Lord Herbert, p. 244.

12. *Langland Bishopp of Lincolne.* He was the king's confessor. He had been Principal of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, and held the see of Lincoln from 1521 to 1547.

27. *Clerke, Bishop of Bath.* This was John Clerke, who had been Dean of Windsor and Master of the Rolls. He was Bishop of Bath and Wells from 1523 to 1541.

P. xxi., line 26. *a libell*, Lat. *libellus*, in legal language signifies "The original declaration upon the commencement of any action."

P. xxii., line 30. *Camerie*, i.e. Cambray. The peace was concluded Aug. 5, 1529. See Lord Herbert, *Life of Hen. VIII.* pp. 306 seqq.

P. xxiii., line 17. *Dr Stoksely.* This was John Stokesley, who had been Archdeacon of Dorset. He was Bishop of London from 1530 to 1540.

P. xxiv., line 20. *disabled him selfe.* We should now say "disparaged himself," "represented himself as unfit for the duties."

25. *indifferent justice*, i.e. the same for one as another, without making any difference. Cf. p. xxv. 31, *indifferent order*=an order which would be fair for one party as well as the other.

P. xxv., line 28. *Mr Hearon.* This was Giles Heron, who married Cicely (Cæcilia), More's third daughter. See Stapleton, c. x. p. 35.

P. xxvi., line 23. *six Clarkes.* These were the clerks who, for the Equity part of the Court of Chancery, were appointed to have the custody of the Records, &c. The offices are now abolished.

P. xxvii., line 17. *workes in defence of the true Catholicke religion.* For a complete list of all More's works, see Rudhart's *Thomas Morus* (pp. 430—438). His English works on religion were:

1. A dialogue...wherein be treated...things touching the pestilent sect of Luther and Tyndale.

2. The Supplication of Souls. This was in reply to Simon Fish's "Supplication of Beggars."

3. A confutation of Tyndale's answer.

4. A letter impugning the erroneous writing of John Frith against the Blessed Sacrament.

5. A treatise of the division between the spirituality and the temporality. Made when he resigned the office of Lord Chancellor.

6. An answer to the first part of the poisoned book which a nameless heretic hath named "The Supper of the Lord." This heretic was George Joy.

7. A dialogue of comfort against tribulation.

8. To receive the blessed Body of our Lord sacramentally and virtually both.

9. A treatise historical conteyning the bitter passion of our Saviour Christ.

10. A godly instruction, written in the Tower.

11. A devout prayer, collected out of the Psalms of David.

12. A godly meditation, written in the Tower.

13. A devout prayer made by Sir Thos. More after he was condemned to die.

34. *Vaysie Bishopp of Exeter*. This was John Voysey (otherwise known as Harman), who had been Dean of Windsor. He was made Bp of Exeter in 1520, and resigned in 1549, but was restored by Queen Mary in 1553.

P. xxviii., line 2. *reserve*, i. e. leave it for God to requite.

6. *forsakinge*=refusing, declining.

13. *went*, i. e. weened. A contracted form of the preterite of *ween*.

P. xxix., line 32. *the common house*, i.e. the House of Commons.

33. *the Universities*. On the answers of the Universities, Lord Herbert (p. 352) says that the determinations of the Universities of Paris, Orleans, Angiers, Bourges in Berry, Toulouse in France, and of Bononia and Padua in Italy were read, and all agreed in declaring the marriage unlawful. But he represents that there was more difficulty in procuring the declaration from Oxford and Cambridge to the same effect.

P. xxx., line 30. *placed all his gentlemen*. Those whom he could now no longer afford to retain in his service he took care to provide for elsewhere.

31. *Lord Audly*. Sir Thos. Audley, Knt, became Lord Keeper on 20 May, 1533. He was created Lord Audley in 1538.

P. xxxi., line 36. *xx^tie^ markes by the yeare*. The mark was 13*s*. 4*d*. As money in More's day was more than twelve times the value which it now bears, the yearly income here named would be from £150 to £200 of our present coinage.

P. xxxii., line 25. *Sir Thomas Cromwell*. This was the afterwards famous Royal Vicegerent in Ecclesiastical Affairs, and the chief agent of Henry in the suppression of the Religious Houses.

36. *Cranmer*. Cranmer was Archbishop of Canterbury from 1532 to 1555. Lord Herbert (p. 375) says, "Cranmer demanded and obtained leave of the king to determine the matter (of the divorce), since it caused much doubt among the common people and fears of great inconveniences in matters of succession." The court was held 10 May, 1533, at Dunstable in Bedfordshire.

P. xxxiii., line 1. *St Albone's.* There seems to be a mistake here, for the court sat at Dunstable, and the sentence was publicly read in the Chapel of our Lady in the Priory there.

15. *xx^{ll}* = 20 pounds sterling. The *ll* being the abbreviation for the plural *libræ*.

26. *a certaine Nunne.* This was Elizabeth Barton, called the Holy Maid of Kent. Lord Herbert (p. 404) says, "Being suborned long since by monks to use some strange gesticulations, and to exhibit divers feigned miracles, accompanied with some wizardly unsoothsayings she drew much credit and concourse to her, so that notwithstanding the danger that was to give ear to a prediction of hers, that Henry VIII. should not live one month after this marriage with Mistress Bullen, she was cryed up with many voices." She was attainted of treason and executed in 1533.

P. xxxiv., line 6. *voyage.* In the sense of *journey*, not necessarily by water. The construction in this long sentence is "She...there fortuned...to enter into talke with Sir Thomas More concerning such secrets, &c."

13. *himselfe had prognosticated before.* See p. xxxiii. l. 6, where he speaks prophetically of the probable oath concerning the succession.

P. xxxv., line 2. *the Lord of Wilshire.* This was Thomas Bullen, father of Anne Bullen, who had previously been in 1525 made Viscount Rochford, and was created Earl of Wiltshire in 1529.

9. *with much worke*, i. e. after much entreaty and solicitation.

22. *Angells.* An angel was a gold coin worth ten shillings. For a description of it see Shaks., *Merchant* (II. 7. 56), and on the changes in its value during Henry VIII.'s reign, cp. Lord Herbert, p. 191.

P. xxxvi., line 5. *Bishopp of Rochester.* This was John Fisher, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and formerly President of Queens' College. He was a great benefactor to St John's College, Cambridge.

P. xxxvii., line 18. *a booke of the assertion of Seaven Sacraments.* This was the Book *De Septem Sacramentis.* A copy of this work Lord Herbert (p. 94) says he saw richly bound in the Vatican Library. In this book the king opposed Luther's teaching concerning Indulgences, the number of Sacraments, the Papal Authority and other points in dispute. Leo X. bestowed on the author the title *Fidei Defensor*, which his successors have retained.

31. *a sorter out, and placer*, i. e. one whose sole work had been to select and arrange the matter in the book.

P. xxxviii., line 8. *Praemunire.* "The original meaning," says Blackstone, "of the offence which we call *Præmunire*, is introducing a foreign power into this land, and creating *imperium in imperio* by paying that obedience to papal process which constitutionally belonged to the king alone, long before the Reformation in the reign of Henry VIII."

P. xxxix., line 29. *Quod, &c.*, i.e. What is postponed is not done away with.

35. *Indignatio, &c.*, i.e. The wrath of a king is death.

P. xl., line 3. *all the Pristes, &c.* The Statute here referred to was passed in the Parliament of 153$\frac{3}{4}$. Of the Commission for tendering the oath, Lord Herbert (p. 401) says, "The Parliament rising, Commissioners were sent abroad to require the oath of Succession, which nevertheless John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More denied, yet so as they both professed a readiness to swear to the succession, but not to the whole Act, it containing divers other things. Archbishop Cranmer told Cromwell that it were not amiss to accept the oath as they offered it."

13. *housled.* "To be housled" was to have received the Sacrament. The word is derived from Lat. *hostia* = the host, the sacred wafer. So Shaks., *Hamlet* (I. 5. 77), *unhouseled* = without having received the Sacrament.

24. *rounded.* "To round in the ear" = to whisper.

33. *Letters.* These letters to Mrs Roper are in Rastell's Edition of More's works (1557), viz. No. V. pp. 121 seqq., No. IX. pp. 132—136, No. X. pp. 136—141, No. XII. pp. 145—146.

P. xli., line 1. *not to be acknowne*, i. e. from which (oath) it could not be known, &c.

P. xlii., line 2. *as straight a Roome*, i. e. as strait (narrow) a room, in allusion to a monastic cell. More had at several periods of his life a leaning toward the retirement of a cloister. See Seebohm's *Oxford Reformers*, p. 147.

P. xliv., line 20. *Dietie*, i. e. Deity, Godhead.

P. xlv., line 8. *What the good yeare.* A form of adjuration or oath common in More's time, and of which examples are found in Shakespeare, *Merry Wives* (I. 4. 129), *Much Ado* (I. 3. 1) &c.

20. *fondlye* = foolishly.

25. *Tille valle.* An expression of contempt found in Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night* (II. 3. 83), and 2 *Hen. IV.* (II. 4. 90).

27. *will this geere never be left?* i.e. Will this behaviour and talk never be laid aside by you?

P. xlvi., line 11. *thrussinge*, i.e. trussing, a scribe's error. The correct orthography occurs xlix. 23, below.

P. xlviii., line 1. *overshutte*, i. e. overshoot, = be mistaken or misguided.

P. xlix., line 4. *never did to temporall man before.* More was the first layman who was Lord Chancellor. The office had heretofore been held by the Clergy.

35. *towards the Law*, i. e. engaged in matters of law, as judge and Lord Chancellor.

P. l., line 17. *dischargable*, i. e. not in accord with, different from.

33. *Gregorie*, i. e. Gregory the Great (590—604 A.D.), the pope who sent Augustine as a missionary to England.

P. li., line 20. *acceptions*, i. e. exceptions, objections.

P. lii., line 18. *the ould Swanne.* The old Swan on the west of London Bridge on the Middlesex side of the Thames was of great antiquity as a landing-place. It was the practice of those who feared to *trust themselves* to the rapids which ran through the narrow arches of

old London Bridge to land at the Swan stairs and walk to the east side of the bridge and there take boat again.

31. *to the Towreward*=toward the Tower. The preposition *toward* is not unfrequently thus divided in old English. Cp. *To* us *ward* (Ps. xl. 5). *To* God *ward* (Exod. xviii. 19).

P. liii., line 3. *Hollbards*, i.e. halberts.

26. *the Utas*, i.e. the Octave, the eighth day after any of the Church festivals. From Fr. *huit*=eight.

33. 1537. This, though in the printed text, is a mistake for 1535.

P. lv., line 2. *a Javill*=a worthless fellow. Cp. Spenser, *Mother Hubbard's Tale*, 309:

> "Expired had the term that these two *javels*
> Should render up a reckoning of their travels."

5. *St Cyprian.* This was the celebrated Bishop of Carthage, who was martyred at Carthage by the proconsul Galerius, A.D. 258.

23. *scute*, i.e. shoot, aim.

NOTES.

Titlepage. *the beste state......the newe yle.* The ancient rule of writing definite adjectives with *e* final is often preserved even though grammatical accuracy in this matter is not constant.

Utopia. The name is derived from the Greek *οὐ*=*not* and *τόπος*=*a place*, and indicates that the country described is non-existent. The Latin rendering is "Nusquama"=*Nowhere.* The original Latin of the Utopia was first published at Louvain in 1516.

Raphe Robynson. Of the translator we learn, beside what is told us on the titlepage and in the Epistle, from Bliss's edition of Anthony-a-Wood, Vol. I. p. 199 note, that he also translated from Leland a work entitled "Ancient Order, Society and Unity laudable of Prince Arthur and his knightly Armoury of the Round Table," and reference is given to the *British Bibliographer* for 1810, Vol. I. pp. 109—135.

The Epistle. *William Cecylle.* This was the afterwards famous Lord Burleigh. At this time he was secretary to King Edward VI., who is meant by "the kyng his moste excellente maiestie."

kyng his. This became a common though mistaken form of writing the possessive cases of nouns, from an idea that the old possessive "kynges" was a contraction for "kyng his." The mistake is seen as soon as you attempt to apply the same form to feminine nouns.

P. 2, line 1. *Upon a tyme.* This story of Diogenes and his tub is taken from Lucian, *Quomodo consc. hist.* 3.

7. *of all handes*, where we should now say "*on* all hands." Cp. *on* purpose and *of* set purpose.

8. *harneis.* The common word at this time for armour. Cp. Shaks. *Macb.* v. 5. 52, "We'll die with *harness* on our back."

9. *rampiere.* Fr. *rempart*, a bulwark. Cp. Lodge, *Rosalind*, p. 48 (ed. Collier), "Rosador *rampired* up the house." The latter part of the word is probably connected with the Latin *parare*, to prepare.

P. 3, line 9. *habilitie.* Usually spelt thus, as derived from Latin *habilis*.

17. *meself.* This, with Robynson, is the more usual form of the accusative of this pronoun, following the orthography of the personal pronoun. Cp. infra, 19.

22. *endevoire.* Here the French orthography is preserved. *Devoir* is from Lat. *debere*, to owe.

26. *sir Thomas More knight compiled.* The second part of the Utopia was written first, and completed in 1515, so that 40 years, which Robynson mentions below, would bring the date of the translation to 1555, but Cecil at the time of this dedication was still secretary, and so it must have been completed in 1553, the last year of King Edward's reign.

P. 4, line 2. *rowme*=room, i.e. position, dignity. Cp. Luke xiv. 8, "the highest *room*."

13. *persever.* This orthography, with the accent on the middle syllable, was common in Elizabethan English. Cp. Shaks. *Comedy of Er.* II. 2. 217, "I'll say as they say, and *persèver* so."

P. 5, line 3. *ones.* This is the older form of the genitive of *one* which has in later English been modified into *once.* The Saxon is *án*, *G. ánes.* Cp. for a similar form, line 13, *whoes*, for what we now write *whose.*

16. *divers other.* This word is frequently used as a plural. Cp. Earle (*Microcosm*, p. 30), "*Other* take a more crooked path."

20. *what by...what by*, in the sense of partly...partly. The phrase occurs again p. 18, l. 7.

P. 6, line 1. *aucthorytye.* This orthography is due to the derivation from Lat. *auctoritas.*

2. *maystershyppe.* This word was used as a title of respect by low people generally. Cp. Shaks. *Two Gent.* III. 1. 280, "What news with your *mastership?*" In vulgar speech the word was shortened into *maship.* See Udall, *Roister-Doister*, I. 2. 104, "A fitter wife for your *maship* might be found." The word occurs again below in line 19.

5. *can say well by nothing.* By=concerning. For an example cf. 1 Cor. iv. 4, "I know nothing *by* myself"=no ill concerning myself. So Shaks. *Merch.* I. 2. 58, "How say you *by* the French lord?"

16. *quayled.* The root is the same as that of *quell*, and is akin to *kill.* Cf. *manquellers*=murderers, Shaks. *Hen. IV.* pt. 2, II. 1. 58. Also the words in which the murder of the king is spoken of by Lady Macbeth (I. 7. 72) as "our great *quell.*"

P. 7, line 7. *a frende.* This is the George Tadlowe mentioned p. 5, l. 11.

11. *well sene.* A common expression=*learned.* Cf. p. 10, l. 16, "Better *sene* in the Greke language," where the Latin text has "doctus." See also Shaks. *Taming of Shr.* I. 2. 134, "A schoolmaster *well seen* in music."

16. *submit.* This is the original sense of the Latin word *submittere*=to lower.

19. *the Latin proverbe.* Erasmus, *Adag.* (1650) p. 202, gives the Latin proverb, "Canis festinans cæcos parit catulos," but as a translation of the Greek of Aristotle.

23. *to imprintinge it came*, i. e. the book came to be printed.

P. 8, line 2. *Terence.* The lines are quoted from Terence *Adelphi*, IV. 7. 22.

7. *at the tables.* The old name for the game of backgammon. Cf. Shaks. *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. 2. 326, "When he plays *at tables*, he chides the dice in honourable terms."

14. *pretensed.* Used in the sense of the Latin word *prætendere* = to set before. Hence "*pretensed purpose*" is a sort of tautological expression = "the purpose set before us."

24. *doubted* = expected, anticipated. Cf. Bacon, *Hen. VII.* 100. 3, "The king who *doubted* as much before, and saw through his business from the beginning."

P. 9, line 4. *favourablye winke at them*, i.e. pass over without censure. Cf. Acts xvii. 30, "The times of this ignorance God *winked at*."

P. 10, line 1. *Peter Giles*, one of the chief citizens and a magistrate of Antwerp. He was a pupil of Erasmus. See p. 18, l. 16, and Rudhart, *T. Morus*, p. 153.

11. *togethers.* Robynson continually writes this word in this form on the analogy of *toward* and *towards*, *forward* and *forwards*. I have noticed the form nowhere else but in Trevisa's translation of Higden's *Polychronicon*, where it is frequent.

maister Raphael. This is Raphael Hythlodaye, into whose mouth More puts the description of his imaginary commonwealth. For the author's own description of his chief character, see pp. 19, 20.

15. *not studied for*, i.e. not elaborated, but given in ordinary plain speech.

P. 11, line 13. *whiles.* This word, which we now only use in the form *while*, was the genitive case of the Saxon noun *hwil*, time, and so meant *of a time* = *at one time*.

23. *talke wyth my servauntes.* Of Sir T. More's domestic life see *Life*, pp. ix. seqq., also p. 19, ll. 1—4.

P. 12, line 20. *John Clement.* Afterwards a celebrated Doctor of Medicine. He was brought up in More's household and married Margaret Gyge who had been educated with More's daughters. He was celebrated at Oxford for his Greek learning. See Stapleton, *Tres Thomæ* (1612) pp. 250 seqq.

27. *Hythlodaye.* More has formed most of the names in his story after Greek models. Ὑθλοδαῖος is apparently meant, by its connexion with ὕθλος = nonsense, to indicate, as the title Utopia does, the fictitious character of the narrative. So Amaurote, as if from ἀμαυρὸς = dim, faint, not easy to be seen, is the name of the chief city of Utopia, and *Anyder* (Gk. ἄνυδρος = waterless) is a fit appellation for a river which existed only in the writer's imagination.

31. *my John sayeth.* This pretence of uncertainty about some small details is meant to give a colour of reality to the author's fiction.

P. 13, line 7. *I wyll rather tell a lye, then make a lie*, i.e. rather repeat a false statement on the authority of another than give anything of my own invention. The Latin has "potius mendacium dicam quam mentiar."

26. *to see newes. News* was not always confined to what was received through the ears, but of any novel sight. Cp. Burton's *Anatomy*, p. 297, "New *news* lately *done*, *our eyes* and ears are full of *her cures*."

33. *that he muste obteyne this byshopricke with suete*, i.e. That he will have to sue, and make entreaty to be appointed thereto. Such a course would in most cases be an objectionable way of procuring a bishopric. The Latin has "nihil eo scrupulo retardatus quod hoc antistitium sit illi precibus impetrandum."

P. 14, line 19. *weale publyque*, a literal rendering of *respublica*, i.e. the common weal.

P. 15, line 2. *alloweth*, in the sense of the Latin *allaudare*=to praise. Cf. Pr. Book, Baptism Service, "God favourably *alloweth* this charitable work of ours." So Shaks. *Hen. IV.* pt. 2, IV. 2. 54, "I like them all and do *allow* them well."

5. *moughteaten*, i.e. motheaten. The orthography in Wyclif is *moughte*. Wedgwood, 2. 425, says "We are led by analogy to suspect that this designation may be an ellipse for *motworm*, a worm that reduces cloth to mot or dust."

9. *awaye with*. Here *away*=on the way, cp. *aboard*=on board and *afoot*=on foot. Thus the expression in the text signifies "He cannot go on the way with, cannot travel the same road, cannot abide."

10. *narrow between the shoulders*, an idiomatic and forcible phrase for "void of taste." The Latin has "insulsus."

22. *lowtinge*, i.e. making a jest of. Cp. Shaks. *Hen. VI.* pt. 1, IV. 3. 13, "I am *louted* by a traitor villain."

24. *oute of all daunger of gonneshotte*. The proverb is given in Gk. ἔξω βέλους=out of weapon-shot. It is one of those mentioned by Erasmus, *Adag.* p. 536.

25. *smugge and smothe*. The Latin is "leves et abrasi," smooth *and shaven close*, so that there is never a hair to hold by.

P. 16, line 3. *for gestes so dayntie mouthed*. *For*=as being. Cp. "a pestilence on him *for* a mad rogue," Shaks. *Ham.* V. 1. 196.

9. *if it may stande with his mynde*, i.e. be agreeable to his wishes. The *Lat.* is "si id ipsius voluntate fiat." For the English, cp. "If it *stands with* honesty," Shaks. *As you like it*, II. 4. 91.

P. 17, line 3. *a prince most perelesse*. That this was the reputation which Henry the Eighth bore while alive and for some time after his death may be seen from the summary of his character at the conclusion of Lord Herbert of Cherbury's History of his reign.

4. *Charles...kyng of Castell*. This was the monarch who afterwards became the Emperor Charles V. He was the son of Philip, Archduke of Austria, and Joanna the heiress of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain.

5. *weighty matters, &c.* These were concerning the reopening of the trade with the Netherlands. The Parliament of 1515 had prohibited the export of English wool to Holland and Zealand on account of a quarrel between the two countries, which had been caused by a breaking off the proposed marriage between Prince Charles and Princess Mary the daughter of Henry VIII. The Embassy was sent in May, 1515, and towards the end of the year they returned, having successfully reestablished the old treaties of intercourse.

8. *Cuthbert Tunstall*, afterwards (1530) Bishop of Durham. He was born in 1474 or 1476, and was, at the time of this Embass-

Bound Tyndall's Bible.

is here stated, Master of the Rolls. Other preferments which he held were a Prebend of Lincoln, the Archdeaconry of Chester, and he was Rector of Harrow on the Hill. In 1522 he was made Bishop of London, in which office he continued until his translation to Durham. He was deprived in 1559 for refusing to take the oath of allegiance to Queen Elizabeth, and was committed to the care of Archbishop Parker, and died the same year.

9. *out of comparison.* The Latin has "incomparabilis" = without a peer.

21. *the proverbe.* The Latin has "velim solem lucerna, quod aiunt, ostendere." Erasmus, *Adag.* p. 18, gives another form from Gratian, *Solem adjuvare facibus.*

22. *Bruges*, an ancient city of Belgium. At this time it was one of the great marts of the world, and chief among the towns of the Hanseatic confederation. Its fairs were the most frequented in Europe.

P. 18, line 2. *Maregrave*, a German territorial title, derived from *Mark* = a district and *graf* = a count. Here the title of the chief magistrate of the town of Bruges.

4. *Casselses.* Now Cassel, a town of France, in the department of Nord, S. of Dunkirk, and N. of Hazebrouck. At the time of More's visit, it belonged to the Netherlands. The Latin styles the provost here mentioned "Cassiletanus præpositus." Cassel is an ancient town, being the *Castellum Morinorum* of the Romans.

10. *throughly*, i.e. thoroughly. Cf. Matth. iii. 12, "He will *throughly* purge his floor."

12. *Bruxelle.* The French orthography (*Bruxelles*) of Brussels.

28. *simulation or dissimulation.* The Latin has only "fucus" = *pretence, disguise.* The translator says he neither *pretended* what was not, nor *concealed* what was true. The Latin line explaining the two words runs, "Quod non est simulat, dissimulatque quod est."

P. 19, line 5. *our Ladies churche*, i.e. the Cathedral at Antwerp.

12. *homly*, i.e. in a simple fashion, negligently. Cp. Chaucer, *Prol.* 330, "He rood but *hoomly* in a medled coote." Also as an adjective, Shaks. *Hen. VI.* pt. 2, v. 3. 12, "Rich hangings in a *homely* house." The Latin has "neglectim."

13. *favoure*, i.e. look, countenance. Cp. the adjective *well favoured*, also Shaks. *J. Cæs.* I. 2. 91, "I do know your outward *favour.*"

29. *Palinure*, i.e. Palinurus, the pilot of Æneas, in the *Æneid* of Virgil.

30. *Ulisses*, i.e. Ulysses, one of the Greek chiefs in the Trojan war. His adventures after the capture of Troy form the subject of Homer's *Odyssey.*

31. *Plato.* Plato is mentioned not because he had any fame as a voyager, but because he was the author in his *Republic*, and in the unfinished account of the island *Atlantis* in the *Critias*, of a scheme for a perfect Commonwealth of the same character as the Utopia, and of the unfinished story of the island Atlantis in the Critias.

33. *well lerned.* See p. 10.

P. 20, line 3. *study of philosophy.* More makes Hythloday to be a profound Greek scholar and philosopher because the Utopia has many things in the style of Plato's *Republic.*

5. *Senecaes.* Lucius Annæus Seneca, a Roman philosopher, tutor of the Emperor Nero. He died A.D. 65. His works here alluded to are *De Vita Beata, De Constantia Sapientis*, &c.

6. *Ciceroes.* Marcus Tullius Cicero the famous Roman orator and philosopher. He was assassinated B.C. 43. His work *de Republica* is that to which More alludes.

7. *brethern.* We have a trace in this orthography of the old plural which was *brether*. Afterwards the word was made a double plural *bretheren*, and after that it was brought to its modern form.

Portugall. This is the common form in old English for the adjective where we now write *Portuguese*. Cp. Grindal, *Remains*, p. 300, "I hear that the *Portugal* ambassador hath sent to the Court."

10. *Amerike Vespuce*, i. e. *Amerigo Vespucci*, the famous navigator from whom the American continent has derived its name. His expeditions are narrated as four "Navigationes," and at the end of the last of these it is told how twenty-four Christians were left behind with some arms and provisions for six months, and that friendly intercourse had been established between them and the natives before their comrades parted from them, and that a fortified place (*castellum*) was built for their security. An account (in Latin) of Vespucci's voyages may be found in the *Novus Orbis regionum ac insularum incognitarum*, Basle, 1537.

14. *what by...what by.* See note on 5. 20.

18. *in the countrey of Gulike.* More's Latin, like that of Vespucci's "Navigationes," has here "in castello;" and infra, l. 27, "his companions Gulikianes" are called "castellani" = the people of the castle, which had been built for their security. Also p. 21. 11 is "in Castello." Gulike appears to be a name of Robynson's invention. It is not found in Purchas or Hakluyt.

19. *for hys mynde sake*, i.e. according to his wish. The *Lat.* has "uti obtemperaret animo ejus" = that he (Vespucci) might yield to his (Raphael's) wish.

22. *the way to heaven, &c.* We find that this was a saying of More's. Cp. *Life*, p. xlv. 23.

29. *Taprobane.* The ancient name of the island now called Ceylon, which lies at the south of Hindostan.

Caliquit, now Calicut, an ancient kingdom of India on the coast of Malabar, mentioned no doubt by More to give an air of circumstance to his story. It is now part of the British possessions in India, and was much visited by the Portuguese in early times after the voyages of Vasco de Gama.

31. *nothynge lesse then looked for*, i. e. contrary to all expectation. Cf. Fr. *rien moins que*. *Lat.* has "præter spem."

P. 21, line 5. *haylsed*, i. e. greeted. The *Lat.* gives "ubi nos mutuo salutassemus." The English word is another form of the verb "hail" = to salute.

9. *torves*, a plural form from "turf." We have lost the form from the modern language, just as we no longer use "beeves" from "beef."

15. *occupiyng*, in the old sense of *trading*, trafficking. Cp. 22. 8.

and St Luke xix. 13, "Occupy (i.e. employ the money in trade) till I come." Also Lever, *Sermons* (Arber's Reprints), p. 130, "men that *occupieth* wares," and p. 131, "such wares as must needs be *occupied* in this realm." The Latin has "versari"=to mingle with on friendly terms.

19. *mere*, in the sense of the Lat. *merus*=unmixed, pure. We still use *pure* in a like sense, as when we say a thing was done "out of *pure* kindness."

26. *holsome*. A more correct orthography than the modern *wholesome*. The word is derived from *heal*. The spelling *whole* has no doubt been adopted to distinguish this word from *hole*=an aperture.

32. *out of fassyon*. The *Lat.* has merely "horrida"=rough, wild. *Fashion* is used in the sense of *form*, *order*, and the words=disorderly and uncouth. Cp. for this use of *fashion*, Shaks. *All's well*, I. I. 170, "wears her cap *out of fashion*."

P. 22, line 9. *chaffare*=commerce, barter. The word is akin to the Lat. *caupo*=a dealer, and has its cognates in the Teutonic languages, as in *Copenhagen*=the harbour of the traders, in the Germ. *Kaufmann*, a merchant, and the provincial English *horse-couper*=a dealer in horses, and in the word *cheap*, which at first meant *market*. Cp. *Cheapside*=market side, *Chepstow*=market-place.

10. *borderers*, i.e. neighbours, *Lat.* "finitimi."

11. *occasion*, i.e. opportunity afforded to me. The *Lat.* uses "facultas." For the English word cp. "As *occasion* serves"=as opportunity offers; and also Shaks. *Tam. of Shrew*, II. I. 36, "Till I can find *occasion* of revenge."

23. *the feate*. This is the Lat. *factum*, Fr. *fait*, and so means "what is done." It is therefore little more than=*use*, which follows. The Latin text has only the one word "usus."

29. *in so dooynge farther from care then daunger*, i.e. they have increased their carelessness and so are in more peril. "Securi magis quam tuti" are More's words.

32. *tourne them*, i.e. turn for them. The pronoun is the dative, as is seen from the *Lat.* "eis." Cp. Shaks. *Hen. IV.* pt. I, III. 3. 205, "Rob *me* [i.e. for me] the exchequer."

33. *commodious*. Lat. *commodum*=an advantage, hence the adjective has the sense *advantageous*.

P. 23, line 5. *too*. In the text there is no regularity of orthography, the preposition of the dative case and with the infinitive mood being spelt as here, while the adverb *too* is not unfrequently written *to*.

7. *wittely*, i.e. wisely. The *Lat.* has "prudenter."

11. *monsters*. On the English appetite for prodigies cp. Shakespeare's satire in the *Tempest*, II. 2. 31, "In England this *monster* would make a man, any strange beast there makes a man; when they will not give a doit to relieve a lame beggar they will lay out ten to see a dead Indian."

13. *Scyllaes*. The whirlpool Scylla described in Homer and Virgil as opposite Charybdis in the straits of Messina.

14. *Celenes*. Celæno was one of the Harpies mentioned by Virgil, *Æneid* III. 211.

Lestrigones. The Læstrygonians were a barbarous people represented as living near Formiæ in Italy. They are said to have roasted and eaten one of the companions of Ulysses. Homer, *Od.* x. Hence the adjective here applied to them.

17. *fonde*, i.e. silly. Cp. "A *fond* thing vainly invented," *Articles of Religion*, XXII., also p. 26. 9.

P. 24, line 3. *geastwise*, i.e. *as a guest.* This manner of forming words by the addition of wise = in the manner of, was more common in old English than it is now. Cp. *lengthwise.*

15. *I passe not greatly for them*, i.e. I am not very anxious about them. The *Lat.* has "non valde commoveor" = I am not much moved. Cp. for the English word, Shaks. *Hen. VI.* pt. 2, IV. 2. 136, "As for these silken-coated slaves, *I pass not.*"

I have sufficiently doone my parte. Cp. 20. 6, where it is said that Raphael left his patrimony to his brethren when he started on his travels.

P. 25, line 4. *states.* Here used for *personages.* The *Lat.* has but one word "purpurati" for both *states* and *pieres* (i.e. peers). For the English word *states* used thus, cp. Shaks. *King John*, II. 1. 395, "How like you this wild counsel, mighty states?" (i.e. princes).

6. *and therfore thinke it no great hurte.* The Latin text makes it clear that this means, "So don't *you* think any hurt that they are without me and such as I am." "Ne putes jacturam fieri" = Don't fancy that they lose hereby.

9. *richesse.* The French word used properly as a singular, though our word *riches*, which is a mere modification of this, is now used as a plural.

P. 26, line 13. *the raven and the ape.* These had become proverbial expressions. The *Lat.* has "Corvo suus arridet pullus et suus simiæ catulus placet." Cp. "Every crow thinks her own young one fairest."

20. *fare*, i.e. behave, act. This is not a common use of the English word.

The *Lat.* gives "perinde agunt" = "act as if."

22. *diserdes* = fools. The word is from the same root as *daze, dizzy, dazzle.*

23. *Triptakers.* This very unusual word which stands in the margin signifies "those who are glad to catch others *tripping*," "detractors."

30. *As who should sai*, i.e. "As if they would say." The *Lat.* has only "tanquam" = as if.

P. 27, line 4. *leude, overthwarte*, i.e. ignorant and perverse. These words represent the single *Lat.* word "absurda."

9. *the insurrection.* The allusion is to the Cornish insurrection against Henry VII. in 1497. The Cornish men under the leadership of Flammock, a lawyer, and Joseph, a farrier, resisted the imposition of further taxation, and marched towards London, but were defeated at the battle of Blackheath, and Lord Audley, who had put himself at their head, as well as the other leaders, were taken and executed.

13. *beholdynge.* This is the usual form of the word which we now write "beholden." It is from the word *behold*, in the sense of "look up to." So that "to be beholding" meant "to be under obligations," and had no connexion with "hold" = support, which is the sense which is commonly attached to the modern English form. For an example of the old use cp. Shaks. *Merry Wives*, I. I. 283, "A justice of the peace may sometimes be *beholding* to his friend for a man."

14. *Jhon Morton.* This distinguished prelate was born in 1410, and was educated at Balliol College, Oxford. After several other appointments he became in 1472 Rector of St Dunstan's-in-the-East, London, and next year was appointed Master of the Rolls. His promotion in the church was furthered by Cardinal Bourchier who recognized his great abilities. In 1478 Morton became Bishop of Ely and Lord Chancellor of England, and was appointed one of the executors of King Edward IV. He was seized and imprisoned by Richard Duke of Gloucester (afterwards Richard III.), but escaped to the continent and joined the Earl of Richmond (afterwards Henry VII.) there, and it is said that Morton was the author of the plan that this prince should marry Elizabeth the eldest daughter of Edward IV. and so strengthen his claim to the crown. After the accession of Henry VII. Morton in 1486 was made Archbishop of Canterbury, and a cardinal in 1493. He died in his ninetieth year, A.D. 1500, and was buried in the Cathedral at Canterbury. Morton is believed by some to have written that Life of Richard III. which is usually attributed to Sir Thomas More.

19. *meane stature*, i.e. moderate stature, of the middle height. Cp. *meantime* = in the interval. Also with a play on the two senses of the word, Shaks. *Merch. of Ven.* I. 2. 8, "It is no *mean* happiness to be seated in the *mean*."

24. *to prove.* This verb is governed by the clause "he had great delite" = he liked to try.

P. 28, line 3. *leaned unto.* These words are used where we should now say *leaned upon*, *depended on*.

4. *the chiefe of his youth*, i.e. his early youth.

11. *laye man. Lat.* "laicus," i.e. one not belonging to the clerical order. The clergy were at More's date generally the most "cunning in the law." This may account for the mention that the speaker about to be introduced was not a cleric.

15. *fellones. Lat.* "fures," i.e. thieves.

16. *upon one gallowes.* Capital punishment for theft was continued until a late period in England. Cp. May's *Constitutional Hist.* vol. II. 595.

20. *ryffe*, i.e. rife, plentiful. The word is derived from A. S. ríf = frequent.

24. *to extreame* = too extreme.

P. 29, line 8. *nought.* This word, of which the orthography should be *naught*, = worthless, evil, and is from the same root as naughty. Cp. 2 Kings ii. 19, "The city is pleasant, but the water *naught*."

The word *nought* = nothing, and is derived from *no* and *whit* = not a particle.

11. *Blackeheath fielde.* Cp. above on 27. 9. The Latin has "Cornubiense prælium," i.e. the battle of the Cornish men.

12. *warres in Fraunce.* This was the expedition undertaken in 1492 by Henry VII., professedly in aid of the claims of Maximilian, king of the Romans, to the hand and possessions of Anne duchess of Brittany. This expedition was terminated at the peace of Estaples.

15. *occupye* = "use" or "follow." Cp. 22. 8, note.

17. *forasmuch as warres have their ordinarie recourse.* It would not be easy to determine the meaning of these words, unless we had the original. This is "quando bella per intermissas vices commeant," which signifies "since wars come round only at intervals," and therefore they need not be taken into account as things of constant occurrence and needing constant provision to be made for those disabled by them.

21. *dorres. Lat.* "fuci" = drones. The root is perhaps found in the first syllable of dor-mouse, and in the Germ. *thor* = a fool, a dolt.

23. *reisyng their rentes.* On this complaint cp. Roderyck Mors, p. 9 (E.E.T.S.), "Consyder yow, what a wickednes is comonly used thorow the realme unponysshed in the inordinate inhansyng of rentys......Thei cannot be content to lete them at the old pryce, but rayse them up dayly......so that the pore man laboryth and toyleth upon it, and is hys slave, and is not able to lyve. And further, if another rich covetous carl, which hath to moch already, will gyve anything more than he that dwellyth upon it, out he must, be he never so poore; though he shuld become a begger, and after a thefe and so at length be hanged, by his outgoyng."

26. *hable to brynge*, i.e. *adapted* or *calculated* to bring, &c.

33. *incontinent* = immediately. *Lat.* "illico" = forthwith. Cp. Shaks. *Othello* IV. 3. 12, "He will return *incontinent.*"

P. 30, line 8. *appaired*, i.e. impaired. The latter part of both words is derived from Lat. *pejor* = worse.

11. *a worke*, i.e. on work. Cp. aboard = on board, ashore = on shore.

16. *to jette* = to strut. Cp. Shaks. *Twelfth Night*, II. 5. 36, "How he *jets* under his advanced plumes."

18. *by saynt Mary.* This oath is the origin of our term of asseveration "*Marry.*"

20. *stomackes.* This word was of common use for "temper," courage. Cp. Ps. ci. 5 (Pr. Bk.), "Whoso hath a proud look and high *stomach.*" Also below, 31. 33.

P. 31, line 1. *royalme* = realm. The old Fr. word was *royaulme*, of which the spelling in the text is a remnant.

4. *wyse fooles.* The *Lat.* text has "Morosophi," a compound of two Gk. words signifying *foolish wise men.*

6. *in a redinesse.* The common phrase in old English where we should say *in readiness.* Cp. below, line 21.

11. *Salust.* The quotation is from Sallust, *Bell. Jug.* 2, but is adapted rather than quoted exactly. More's text has "Manus aut animus incipiat per otium torpescere." The word on which More lays stress is *torpescere.*

23. *from their youth.* The *Lat.* has "ab unguiculis," "from their tender nails," i. e. from earliest infancy.

29. *uplandish*, used of country people, as living away from towns and far *up* in the heart of the country. Cp. Puttenham, *Art of Poesy* (Arber), p. 157, "Any *uplandish* village or corner of a realme, where there is no resort but of poor rustical people."

P. 32, line 5. *spill*, used as we use *spoil*=to damage. The *Lat.* has "corrumpere"=to corrupt, for both the infinitives here used, and our translator's manner often is to represent one Latin word by a couple of English ones. See above on 27. 4.

10. *avayleable*=advantageous, profitable, a sense which the word has lost in modern times.

19. *your shepe.* For a like complaint, common in More's day, on the multiplication of flocks, and on the need from this cause for turning arable land into pasture, whereby many men were thrown out of employment, cp. Roderyck Mors [E. E. T. S.], p. 38, where it is asked that "no lord should have more sheep than be able to serve his house, and he that doth exceed, to forfeit his whole flock, half to the king and half to the complainer." So too the *Decaye of England by the grete multitude of sheepe*, where it is maintained that

(1) The more shepe the dearer is the wool.
(2) The more shepe the dearer is the mutton.
(3) The more shepe the dearer is the beef.
(4) The more shepe the dearer is the corn.
(5) The more shepe the scanter is the white meate.
(6) The more shepe the fewer eggs for a penny.

29. *of their landes.* *Of*="out of," or "from," and depends on the verb "to grow"=The profits that used to arise out of their lands. The Latin makes this clear by using *ex.*

P. 33, line 1. *as thoughe you loste no small quantity.* The sentence should mean "As if you had not lost enough" ground by the means which he proceeds to enumerate, they cause you to lose more. But it is not easy to draw this from the English words, though it is plain enough in the original, "et tanquam parum soli perderent"=and as if they destroyed too little ground, &c. Perhaps we should read "to," i.e. *too* in the text instead of "no."

3. *those good holy men.* "illi boni viri." Of course these words are satirically spoken. In some of the contemporary literature the monastic establishments are painted as the great offenders in this matter of the decrease of arable land. Cp. Starkey, *England in the reign of King Henry VIIIth* (E.E.T.S.), *a dialogue between Cardinal Pole and Thomas Lupset, Lecturer in Rhetoric at Oxford, passim.*

4. *glebeland*, i.e. arable land. The *Lat.* has "quicquid usquam est culti"=whatever there is anywhere under cultivation. It was not so when it was converted into a sheep farm.

5. *on*=one. A.S. án.

8. *pale or hedge.* Here is another instance of double translation. The original has only "septum"=a hedge. In such cases it may sometimes be that one of the words was less common than the other, and seemed to need a synonym for explanation. The old word *pale* survives in *palisade.*

10. *coveyne and fraude.* Here again the *Lat.* has only "fraus." But *coveyne* certainly was a word not widely used. It is said to be derived from *convenire*=to come together, and the application to be to the case of two persons conniving to defraud a third. For the omission of *n* cp. Convent (Covent) Garden.

11. *they be put besydes it.* This phrase means "they are put out of it," "are ousted from their possession." *Lat.* has "exuuntur"=they are stripped. For the English phrase cp. Shaks. *Sonnets,* XXIII. 2, "Who with his fear is *put besides* his part."

13. *by hooke or crooke. Lat.* "quoquo pacto"=by any means.

14. *selye.* This old English word is from A.S. *sellan*=to give. At first therefore it meant "liberal," "bounteous;" then with a lower shade of meaning, "good-natured," "kindly," then lower still "harmless," "inoffensive," and at last it has descended into the modern word "silly." In the text the sense=harmless. Cp. Chaucer's *Man of Lawe's tale*, 514, "The *sely* innocent Constaunce."

20. *whiche is verye litle woorthe, thoughe it myght well abide the sale. Though* here=even if, and *well* is used=duly, properly. So that the whole sentence="Their household goods, which would fetch very little even if they were allowed to wait for a due and fitting time of sale." The Latin is plain, "haud magno vendibilem, etiam si manere possit emptorem."

23. *nought.* Here=no+whit=nothing. The *Lat.* is "minimo" =at a very low price.

26. *pardy.* A corruption of the Fr. par Dieu=in God's name, in good sooth.

a beggyng=on begging. This was the common form of the gerundial infinitive. It is not much used in modern English, except in poetry, and in some provincial dialects, although the expression in the text still is current.

32. *occupiyng wherof aboute husbandrye,* i.e. the using of it for the purpose of arable land and the crops which it would thus yield.

P. 34, line 9. *their,* i.e. the landowners', covetousness. The reference is to the sense rather than to the exact words of the sentence.

11. *morrein*=cattle plague. It is connected with the Lat. *mors*= death.

21. *fermes,* i.e. farms. The word is derived from A.S. *feorm* =*food,* then, *substance,* and afterwards *produce.*

22. *passethe for*=careth about. Cp. supra, 24. 15. Another example is Puttenham, *Art of Poesy* (Ar[illegible] "They therefore caring for nothing but matte[illegible] [illegible]hat is not gainful and lucrat[illegible]

breadynge of youn[illegible]
is still used in farmin[illegible]

28. *make dearth*, i.e. raise the price. The argument is, that at present, high prices are only known where these cattle are *sold*, but soon when they shall be drawing young stock from the places where they are *bred*, faster than they can well be supplied, the prices will rise there also.

P. 35, line 2. *cheife felicitie*, i.e. principal happiness. The allusion is to the hospitality spoken of below, which now is in the way of being diminished.

6. *whether*, i. e. whither.

21. *noughtie*. Here=naughty, evil.

22. *coytes*, i.e. quoits. The word is derived from Old Fr. *coiter*=to push or drive. See Roquefort, *Glossaire Romane* (s. v.).

25. *abhominations*. This orthography prevailed for a long while in our literature as though the word were connected with *ab* and *homo*, and so=inhumanity. The word abomination is really derived from *omen*, and=a thing to be avoided as of ill omen.

26. *townes of husbandrie*. Town meant originally, as it still does in Icelandic, a farmstead with all the buildings and lands round about it, the whole enclosure comprised in a farm. On the decay here alluded to and the remedy proposed see also Roderyck Mors [E. E. T. S.], p. 17, "God grant the king grace to pull up a great part of his own parks, and to compel his lords, knights and gentlemen to pull up all theirs by the roots and to let out the ground to the people at such a reasonable price as they may live at their hands." And much more of a like kind.

P. 36, line 6. *advaunce your selves of*, i.e. pride yourselves on. It will be no use boasting that felons are put to death, if there be not a stop put to the causes which produce a new and rapid supply.

12. *a Goddes name*, i. e. in God's name. An exclamation which was nearly=to our modern "forsooth."

16. *then make theves and then punish them*. The first *then*=than, which is in Robynson's orthography nearly always confounded with *then*=after that, which is the sense of the word in the second part of the sentence.

P. 37, line 5. *earnest let*, i.e. serious hindrance. *Lat.* "nisi quid impediat"=unless anything prevent.

20. *countervayle*, from Lat. *contravalere*="to be of the same value as," and hence "to make up for," "make good." Cp. Esther vii. 4, "The enemy could not *countervail* (i.e. make up for) the king's damage."

23. *is recompensed*=meets its reward, gets its due. Not used in the good sense of "recompense."

26. *so streite rules*, i.e. so strict rules. The Latin has "tam Manliana imperia," an expression which arose from the severe character of L. Manlius Torquatus the dictator and his son T. Manlius Torquatus the consul.

28. *by and by*. In Old English=immediately. It has come to have in modern speech the sense of "after a while" and so is sometimes misunderstood in Biblical English. Thus Mark vi. 25, when the daughter of Herodias said "Give me *by and by* the head of John the

Baptist," she did not mean to wait the king's convenience for her request to be granted, but to have it *at once*.

stoical. It was a maxim among Stoic philosophers that every crime deserved to be punished with death. Cp. Horace, *Sat*. I. 3. 113—124.

31. *both a matter*, i.e. both one matter, both of the same degree of guilt.

P. 38, line 16. *daunger*=jurisdiction, sway, of God's commandments. Used in the old sense of "regulation," "ordinance," "jurisdiction," from whence the modern use came, because there was "danger," in our sense, to one who was "in the danger," i.e. "under the jurisdiction" of another and did not conform thereto. Cp. for the gradations of meaning, (1) Chaucer's Prologue, 663, "In *danger* hadde he...the yonge girles," i.e. They were under his control and guardianship. (2) Shaksp. *Mer. of Ven*. VI. 1. 180, "You stand within his *danger*, do you not?" i.e. You are at his mercy, liable to penalty from him. The mediæval Lat. was *dangerium*, which seems to have been in some senses connected with *dominus*=a lord, and in others with *damnum*=loss.

23. *Moyses*. A representation of the common Gk. form of the name Μωϋσῆς.

28. *the newe law*, i.e. the Gospel dispensation.

P. 39, line 6. *condempned*. The insertion of *p* in this and similar words is due to the desire to give greater stability to the liquid letters between which it comes. Of a like nature is the introduction of *b* into *number*, Lat. *numerus* and *remember*, Lat. *memini*.

13. *bewrayed*, i.e. betrayed. The derivation of these two words is not the same. Bewray is from A.S. *wregan*, to accuse, and *betray* is from Lat. *trado*=to give up. For the English word bewray, cp. Matth. xxvi. 73, "Thy speech *bewrayeth* thee."

14. *rydde*, i.e. removed. The word is from A.S. *hreddan*=to snatch away. Cp. Shaks. *Hen. VI*. pt. 3 (V. 3. 21), "Willingness *rids* way," (i.e. annihilates distance).

16. *discrived*. It is clear from 43. 9 that this word=descried, detected.

18. *single fellonye*, i.e. simple robbery.

P. 40, line 3. *the Polylerites*. This imaginary people, who are "not known as much as by name except to their next neighbours" and who "neither go to other countries nor other come to them," have a name which indicates their mythical character, being derived from πολὺς= much and λῆρος=nonsense.

5. *wittelye*=wisely, see above, 23. 7.

18. *quite and free*, i.e. quit and free. The *Lat*. has only "immunes"=exempt.

19. *commodious rather then gallante*, i.e. comfortable rather than showy.

20. *welthy*, in the proper sense of being *well* off, in a state of *well* being. The adjective and adverb are of common occurrence. Cp. 61. 26 and 30; 65. 21, &c.

P. 41, line 9. *indifferent good*=moderately good.

"aluntur haud duriter" = they have no hard fare. For this use of *indifferent*, cp. Shaks. *Twelfth N.* I. 5. 265, "Two lips, *indifferent* red." Also *Haml.* III. 2. 41.

P. 42, line 14. *openeth and uttereth*, i.e. giveth information of. The *Lat.* means "to the informer rewards are decreed." For the English, *openeth*, cp. Pr. Bk. *Commun. Service*, "Let him come to some learned minister of God's Word and *open* his grief," and for *utter* in this sense, cp. Shaks. *Two Gentlemen*, III. 1. 8, "To *utter* which no worldly good should draw from me."

17. *of that they were of counsell*, i.e. for being in counsel, the *Lat.* has "conscientiæ" = for their complicity.

32. *chuse them to theyr guydes*, i.e. choose them *for* their guides. Cp. Acts xiii. 5, "They had John *to* their minister."

P. 43, line 4. *taken with the maner. Maner* here is derived from *manus* = the hand, and the whole phrase signifies primarily "to be caught with stolen goods in the hand," and then generally "to be caught in the very act" of any crime. Cp. Num. v. 13, "If she be taken *with the manner*," i.e. in the act. Also Shaks. *Love's Lab. Lost*, I. 1. 206, "I was taken *with the manner*."

10. *But it is a thinge to be doubted.* These words are the remark of an objector, and = "But there is a danger." For *doubt* in the sense of *fear* cp. Shaks. *Ham.* I. 2. 256, "I doubt some foul play."

19. *No.* We should have here *Nor.*

20. *of their counsell.* These words depend on the verb *make* which precedes. "They would not make of their counsel," i.e. they would not take into their confidence their countrymen and companions.

32. *had in Englande*, i.e. appointed, used in England.

P. 44, line 4. *made a wrie mouthe.* The *Lat.* has "distorsit labrum" = he pouted his lip.

8. *proffe*, i.e. trial. *Lat.* "nullo facto periculo" = no trial having been made. We have still the expression "to put to the proof."

12. *saintuaries.* On the privilege of sanctuary, and the abuses thereof, cp. Starkey, *England in the reign of Henry VIII.* [E.E.T.S.] pp. 140 seqq. "Think you that it is well, a man when he hath committed wilful murder, or outrageous robbery, or of purpose deceived his creditors, to run to the Sanctuary with all his goods, and there to live quietly enjoying all quietness and pleasure? This thing, me seemeth, is a plain occasion of all mischief and misery, and causeth much murder in our country and nation. For who will be afraid to kill his enemy if he may be saved by the privilege of sanctuary?"

16. *cast*, i.e. condemned. The *Lat.* has "damnati."

27. *not very sad*, i.e. not very staid or sensible. *Lat.* has "erant enim ridicula." *Sad* is the past part. of the verb *set*, and so at first meant anything fixed and stable. Thus in Wycliffe's version of the New Test. Peter is called "a sad stone," i.e. one firmly fixed. After this the word came to be applied to anything "steady and decorous," as it is used in the text. Cp. Chaucer, *Man of Law*, "A companye of chapmen riche and thereto *sadde* and trewe."

30. *which wold seme*, i.e. who wished to appear.

P. 45, line 4. *indifferent and reasonable.* These two words are the translation of "non absurda" = not foolish. The former English

word is used in the sense of "neither very bad nor very good." Cp. Shaks. *Two Gentlemen*, III. 2. 44, "Where your good word cannot advantage him, nor your slander can endamage him; therefore the office is indifferent."

6. *he that shoteth oft*, &c. The Latin is "crebro jactu jaci *aliquando Venerem*." The lucky throw at dice was called *Venus*, and so it literally signifies "by frequent throws a man at last throws the highest."

13. *unweldie*, i.e. unwieldy. Here in the sense of "feeble and powerless," not in the modern sense of "clumsy and cumbersome." It is rather active = that cannot wield, than passive = that cannot be wielded.

29. *bestowed into houses of religion*. The *Lat.* says "in Benedictinorum cœnobia," into the monasteries of the Benedictines.

30. *laye brethren*, i.e. monks who have not been admitted even into minor orders, but who are supported on the monastic foundations, to discharge the more menial duties of these establishments.

33. *freare, graduate in divinitie.* This friar is described in the original as "Theologus frater." He classes himself in jest among beggars (46. 6) because the chief employment of the friars was to go about and by their begging to increase the resources of their several houses. Cp. the description of the friar and his duties and their success in Chaucer's Prologue, 252, where the special friar alluded to is called "the best beggar in all his house."

P. 46, line 9. *kept straite. Straite* is here an adverb = strictly. The final *e* in adverbs was sounded in old English and is preserved, though probably not sounded in much of the English of the Tudor period.

11. *disprove.* The opposite of *approve.* We now have this indicated by the form *disapprove*, and *disprove* is restricted to the sense of "to prove anything untrue." Cp. 48. 1.

13. *touched on the quicke, and hit on the gaule.* These two idiomatic renderings are given for the Latin "tali perfusus aceto," which is partly a quotation from Horace, *Sat.* I. 7. 32, and = literally "flooded with such vinegar." Robynson's version of such phrases is often, as here, very happy.

gaule means "the tender place (in the flesh of a horse usually) produced by chafing, and which cannot bear touching." Cp. Shaks. *Hen. IV.* pt. 2 (I. 2. 166), "I am loath to gall a new-healed wound."

14. *fret*, i.e. fretted. Many monosyllabic verbs which in modern English form their preterites in the weak manner by adding *ed* did in early English appear in the stronger form. Cp. *heave*, pret. *hove*, rather than *heaved.*

17. *javel.* The derivation of this word is not known. It is always applied to characters guilty of fraud or theft. Cp. Sir Thos. More, *Works*, p. 1272, "How much more abhominable is that pievish pride in a lewde unthriftye *javell*, that hath a purse as peniless as any pore pedler, and hath yet an heart as high as [illegible] See note on p. 183.

23. *in youre patience*, &c. T

25. *gallous wretche*, i.e. wretch fit only for the gallows. The *Lat.* has "furcifer" = fit to be crucified.

27. *the Psalmiste saith.* Pss. iv. 4 and xxxvii. 8.

31. *the zeale of thy house*, &c. From Ps. lxix. 9.

32. *songe in the church.* The original is part of a Latin rhyming hymn:

"Irrisores Helizei
Dum conscendit domum Dei
Zelum calvi sentiunt."

33. *Helizeus*, the Greek orthography of the name of Elisha the prophet. Our Authorized Version has the form *Eliseus* (Luke iv. 27). The scorners are the children who are related to have mocked the prophet for his baldness (2 Kings ii. 23) and to have been cursed by him.

the house of God. This is the meaning of the name "Bethel," to which place Elisha was going according to the narrative above cited.

P. 47, line 5. *set youre witte to a fooles witte*, i.e. pay earnest regard to what is mere foolish talk.

8. *Salomon...saieth.* Prov. xxvi. 5.

14. *balde men.* Alluding to the shaven crowns of the monks and friars.

15. *the popes bulles.* As the Popes looked upon the monastic orders, or regular clergy as they were called, as their great supporters, so they gave to them great protection and privileges.

18. *by a prevy becke*, i.e. by a private signal or sign. We have still the word "beckon" in common use, though the noun has become almost obsolete. It occurs in Milton's *L'Allegro*, 28, "Nods and *becks* and wreathed smiles."

20. *to heare his sueters.* As being Lord Chancellor of England (see 27. 16) he would have legal duties to discharge as well as clerical and episcopal functions.

25. *parcel.* Used formerly in the same way in which we now use *portion.* Cp. "The parcel of ground," 1 Chron. xi. 13.

28. *improved.* The Latin preposition *in* has frequently a negative sense in composition, so that *improbare* = to disapprove of, and in that sense the English *improve* is here employed.

P. 48, line 4. *ensure.* Where we now should say "assure."

9. *broughte up.* Cp. "Life of Sir Thos. More" in the Introduction, p. vi, and the notes thereon.

10. *of a childe*, i.e. in my childhood. Cp. Mark ix. 21.

21. *your Plato.* The passage of Plato alluded to is *Republic*, bk. v. 473D. The passage is rendered in Davies and Vaughan's translation, p. 209, thus: "Unless it happen either that philosophers acquire the kingly power in states, or that those who are now called kings and potentates, be imbued with a sufficient measure of genuine philosophy, that is to say, unless political power and philosophy be united in the same person......there will be no deliverance for cities, nor yet I believe for the human race."

P. 49, line 4. *in kinge Dionyse.* This is Dionysius the younger, the tyrant of Syracuse. The story of Plato's connexion with that monarch

is that the philosopher twice visited Sicily, once in 368 B. C. to aid Dion in attracting the young Dionysius to the study of philosophy, and it is said that Plato conceived the idea of establishing his model Republic in Sicily through the influence of Dionysius. The second visit (361 B.C.) was as mediator between Dion and Dionysius. Both visits were without success.

7. *noughtines.* This word has come in modern language to have a very weakened signification, and to be applied mainly to the wrong-doings of children, but in the older language it was used to signify vice of the gravest kind.

9. *the Frenche kynge.* Louis XII. died in 1515 and was succeeded by Francis I. who reigned until 1547. Now as the *Utopia* was published in 1515 we may assume that the state of the continent described in the whole of the passage which follows has reference to some date not far distant from the accession of Francis, though some of the projects are probably only the fruit of More's imagination. When Louis XII. died, Milan had been put into the power of Maximilian Sforza by the aid of the Swiss, and it had been a great desire of the French king to recover it, and Francis began his reign with the same ideas. Naples was held by Ferdinand of Arragon, but should the French conquer Milan again, their next step would be to lay claim to Naples. The Venetians, who had suffered much in the wars of Louis XII., were at peace and in alliance with France, and were influential among the European powers by reason of their navy.

17. *all Italie.* Italy at this period consisted of five distinct and independent powers, beside smaller feudal states which were connected with them. These powers were Milan, Florence, Rome, Venice, and Naples.

18. *Flaunders, Brabant, and all Burgundie.* In 1477 Louis XI. on the death of the duke Charles the Hardy, had annexed Burgundy to the French crown, and at the same time, through the marriage of Mary of Burgundy, the daughter of Duke Charles with Maximilian of Austria, Flanders, and Brabant became united to Austria.

29. *the Swychers,* i.e. the Swiss, who in the struggles between European powers were often the mercenary soldiers of one power or another. This is what is meant by *Launce knightes* in the margin.

31. *the Emperoures majestie,* i. e. the Emperor of Germany, at this time Maximilian of Austria, who in 1519 was succeeded by his grandson Charles V.

33. *kynge of Arragone.* Ferdinand, father of Catharine of Arragon, who was wife of Henry VIII. of England.

P. 50, line 1. *Navarra,* i.e. Navarre, one of the small kingdoms into which Spain was divided, and which passed in the female line to various French houses, but of which the kings of Arragon had seized the greater part, and longed to have the whole

2. *with his five egges.* [illegible] little petty proposition. It is not [illegible]

3. *Castell,* i. e. [illegible]
under Ferdinand and [illegible]
the latter Queen of C[illegible]

Moors were driven out of Granada, and thus the great Spanish monarchy formed.

6. *staye*, i.e. stick fast, and are hindered.

11. *the Skottes.* It was the constant policy of the French to maintain an alliance with Scotland, that in this quarter they might always be able to inflict some damage on England, if she threatened to interfere with their policy.

13. *aunters*=aventures, adventures. So that *in aunters*=peradventure, by chance.

17. *some piere of Englande.* The history of Henry VIIth's reign and the times immediately preceding furnish several instances of support extended by France to claimants (real or false) of the English crown.

25. *to tourne over the leafe*, i.e. turn to a new page, adopt a new policy. The Latin has "verti jubeam vela"=should bid the sails be turned, i.e. a new course to be steered.

32. *Achoriens*, apparently formed as if from the Gk. *ἄχωρος*= without place, in allusion to the policy of the people who decided that their king's territory should be limited in extent.

P. 51, line 14. *pylled*=plundered. The word is by some referred to Lat. *pilus*=a hair, and interpreted as=to have the hair plucked off, or else connected with *peel*=to strip the skin or bark off. The sense is the same, whichever derivation be accepted.

22. *set by*, i.e. esteemed. Cp. Ps. xv. 4 (Pr. Book Vers.), "He that *setteth* not *by* himself (i.e. does not think highly of himself), but is lowly in his own eyes."

P. 52, line 7. *hurlei-burley*=confusion, tumult. Used by the witches in Macbeth (I. 1. 3) of the confusion and excitement caused by a storm. Cp. 55. 23.

14. *endevoure him selfe.* Used as a reflexive verb. Cp. *Collect for 2nd Sunday after Easter*, "daily *endeavour ourselves* to follow the blessed steps of his most holy life."

16. *and with other kyngdomes not to medle.* The *Lat.* has "atque alia regna valere sinat"=and bid other kingdoms a long farewell.

18. *turne hym to*, i.e. discharge satisfactorily, give proper attention unto.

32. *to fayne warre.* Such feigning of war had been the policy of Henry VII. in his expedition to France, which ended in the peace of Estaples, 1492 A.D.

P. 53, line 7. *olde and moughteeaten lawes.* Here again is a blow at such revivals of obsolete statutes as Henry VII. had allowed to be made by Empson and Dudley, that he might increase his revenues by fines.

22. *privileges and licences*, i.e. for a monopoly of the sale or manufacture of any article. This abuse reached a great height, and was a subject of constant complaint in the later years of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

27. *to endaunger*, i.e. to bring under his influence and control (cp. note on 38. 16). The *Lat.* has "alius persuadet obstringendos sibi

judices" = another advises that the judges should be bound and secured for his side.

P. 54, line 3. *to pike a thanke.* To pick a thank = to seek to gain favour.

5. *in a trippe*, i.e. to catch them slipping or stumbling. Cp. *Triptakers*, 26. 23, *marg.*

20. *Crassus*, i.e. Marcus Licinius Crassus the triumvir. Cicero (*De Off.* II. 16) tells that the father of this man was known as "the Rich." "P. Crassus, cognomine *dives.*"

P. 55, line 10. *wealthily*, i.e. in well being, in good case.

14. *to feede his shepe.* The comparison is from Plato's *Republic* (I. 345), "You suppose him to feed his sheep, in so far as he is a shepherd, not with an eye to what is best for the flock, but like a votary of feasting who is going to give an entertainment, with an eye to the good cheer, or else to their sale, like a money maker, and not like a shepherd. Whereas the only concern of the shepherd's art is, I presume, how it shall procure what is best for *that* of which it is the appointed guardian."

25. *leese.* There was the same variation in orthography between *lose* and *leese*, as between *choose* and *cheese*.

P. 56, line 2. *Fabrice*, i.e. Caius Fabricius, consul at Rome in 278 and 274 B.C. He was famous for frugality, and is known for his conduct towards Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, when he was invading Italy.

11. *the feate*, i.e. the art. This sense has disappeared from the word as now used. We now confine it to a single great act.

15. *Let him doe cost not above his power*, i.e. let him not spend beyond his means, let him try to make both ends meet. The *Lat.* has "sumptus ad reditus accommodet" = regulate his outlay according to his income.

20. *callynge agayne lawes*, i.e. reviving them when they have fallen into disuse.

27. *Macariens.* Again More draws his name from the Gk. μακάριος = happy; and by the name he would indicate the condition of the race of whom he speaks. They are happy because free from the cares of too much money.

P. 57, line 17. *feared of evel men.* *Of* = by, here and in the next line.

29. *This schole philosophie.* This teaching founded mainly on the writings of Aristotle and other philosophers.

P. 58, line 5. *civile*, in the literal sense of the Lat. *civilis* = fitted for the life of citizens.

11. *Plautus.* Titus Maccius Plautus, the Latin writer of comedies, of whose works twenty plays have been preserved to us. He died B.C. 184.

vyle bondemen. For slaves are principal characters in the Latin comedies.

14. *Octavia.* This was the title of a tragedy attributed to Seneca.

[illegible] Seneca, a famous philosopher and [illegible] many tragedies. He died

17. *domme persone.* Very often in the classic plays there comes on the stage a character who has only to stand without speaking. Such a character is called by the Greeks κωφὸν πρόσωπον, a dumb person.

19. *gallymalfreye.* Usually now written *gallimaufry.* The derivation is very uncertain, but the word is of common use, and signifies a medley, a hotch potch. Cp. Shaks. *Winter's Tale*, IV. 4. 335, "They have a dance which the wenches say is a *gallimaufry* of gambols."

P. 59, line 28. *severall*, i.e. separate. Cp. 2 Kings XV. 5, "Azariah was a leper to the day of his death and dwelt in a *several* house."

32. *hedlonges.* Another example of Robynson's adaptation of words which he uses as adverbs to the older genitive form which we find in *hence*, i.e. *hennes*, *&c.*

P. 60, line 13. *evel willing*, i.e. having an ill will, or dislike, to frame. The *Lat.* has "gravatim paterentur" = they bore it unpleasantly.

14. *a rule of leade*, which of course would easily be bent. Cf. μολύβδινος κανών. Arist. *Eth.* V. 10. 7.

16. *at the leaste waye.* We should now say "at least."

sickerlye, i. e. securely. *Lat.* "securius" = with less fear, from which Latin the English word is derived.

22. *Mitio saieth in Terence.* The quotation is from Terence, *Adelphi*, I. 2. 66.

23. *that craftye wyle, and subtil traine of yours. Lat.* "obliquus ille ductus tuus." That cunning and sly leading on.

33. *occasion*, i.e. opportunity, chance, *Lat.* has "nihil occurrit," no chance comes in his way. *Occasion* has a different sense in modern English, especially when it comes in such a phrase as "to have no occasion."

P. 61, line 5. *layde in his necke.* We say now "laid at his door."

8. *Plato.* The passage alluded to is Plato, *Republic*, VI. 496, and is rendered by Davies and Vaughan, p. 240, "He who has watched the madness of the many...keeps quiet and confines himself to his own concerns, like one who takes shelter behind a wall on a stormy day, when the wind is driving before it a hurricane of dust and rain, and when from his retreat he sees the infection of lawlessness spreading over the rest of mankind, he is well content if he can in any way live his life here untainted in his own person by unrighteousness and unholy deeds, and when the time for his release arrives, take his departure amid bright hopes with cheerfulness and serenity."

18. *as my mynde geveth me*, i. e. as my feeling inclines me.

19. *where money bearethe all the stroke*, i.e. where wealth has all the sway and influence. The *Lat.* says, "where everybody measures everything by money's worth," "omnes omnia pecuniis metiuntur." For the English expression, cp. Burton's *Anatomy*, p. 166, "Imagination, because it *hath so great a stroke*, and is so powerful of itself, it will not be improper to my discourse."

31. *had in pryce*, i.e. highly esteemed. Cf. Sed tamen in pret est. Hor. *A. P.* 372.

P. 62, line 10. *I holde wel with Plato* = I come to agree wit' *Lat.* "æquior Platoni fio," i. e. I am reconciled to Plato's decis

32. *propriety*, i. e. this proprietorship, this ownership, and claiming a thing as one's own.

P. 63, line 13. *to be at any cost or charge*, i.e. to incur any expenses. For "to be at charges," cp. Acts xxi. 24. Also 'at charges' Shaks. *Rich. III.* I. 2. 256.

14. *occasion*. Here the word signifies "warrant," or "ground." Because they have paid much money in and for their offices, they feel warranted in taking bribes and using extortion.

19. *botched up*. The word is akin to "patch." They are mended up for a while, but never are cured.

P. 64, line 8. *whiche, what place it maye have*=which, how it can find a place. For there can be no authority where all are alike.

13. *presently*, i.e. in bodily presence. *Lat.* "præsens."

29. *than*=then. Such orthography is not usual.

BOOK II.

P. 67, line 16. *Which*. This relative refers to the word *endes*. The Latin makes this quite clear.

fetching about a circuite or compasze, i.e. being bent as if to form a circle. For the phrase "to fetch a compass"="to go in a circle, or round about," cp. Acts xxviii. 13.

V.C. i.e. five hundred.

20. *surmountethe into a large and wyde sea*. As though the sea had found an obstacle in the two corners, over which it had to make its way. It is in the *Lat.* "per ingens inane diffusum"=it is spread abroad in the vast open space.

22. *nor mounteth not*. An instance of a double negative, where the negation is only increased thereby.

P. 68, line 5. *therfore*. To our modern language this word is superfluous. We should say, "which, because it is in sight, is nothing perilous."

13. *skaselye*, i.e. scarcely. The liquid *r* has a tendency to melt away in pronunciation.

16. *translatinge*. This word has the sense of Lat. *transfero* from which it comes, and=transferring from one place to another. In modern English we only use "translate," in this sense, of the removal of a bishop from one see to another. Cp. for the earlier use of the word, Lyly, *Euphues*, p. 41, "Plant and *translate* the crab-tree where and whensoever it please you, and it will never bear sweet apple."

18. *utter*, i.e. outer. Cf. Ezek. x. 5, "The sound was heard even to the *utter* court." Where modern Bibles print "*outer*," but the original edition of 1611, has the older spelling "*utter*."

20. *what by......what by*, i.e. partly......partly. Cp. "what with," in the first line of this p. 68.

[illegible] i.e. civilization. In the northern Universities [illegible] "humanities" from the civilizing effect [illegible] earnestly pursue them.

31. *uplandyshe*, i.e. belonging to the rural part of the island, cp. 31. 29, and note.

P. 69, line 5. *divided into*. We should now say "divided among" or "unto."

20. *Amaurote*. This name, which More has given to the chief town of Utopia, also is formed as if from the Greek, and like most of the other names, indicates that the place was only to be found in the Clouds. ἀμαυρὸς=dim, faint, baffling the sight, as did Amaurote the capital of Nowhere.

21. *entreate*. We do not use the compound verb, but simply say "to treat of." For the earlier use, cp. Lyly, *Euphues*, p. 53, "For me to *entreat* of the one, being a novice, or to discourse of the other, being a truant, I may well make you weary."

23. *juste in the middes of the ilande*. The *Lat*. calls it *the navel* of the land, "tanquam in umbilico terræ sita." Cf. Milton, *Comus*, 520. Also the Greek γῆς μέσος ὀμφαλός.

33. *husbandes*. Used formerly=husbandmen. The *Lat*. has "agricolæ." For an instance of the English word, cp. Lever's *Sermons*, p. 29 [Arber], "To buy farms out of the hands of worshipful gentlemen, honest yeomen, and poor labouring *husbands*."

P. 70, line 5. *inhabited of*, i.e. inhabited by.

6. *by course*, i.e. in turns. The Latin has "per vices." For the English phrase, cp. 1 Cor. xiv. 27, where St Paul tells the Corinthians that they are to speak in the church "by course."

8. *two bondmen*, i.e. two of those who have been condemned to be bondmen. The Latin gives "ascripticii servi," that is "slaves who are in a legal manner attached to the soil, and pass from owner to owner with the land."

9. *good man*, i.e. the head of the family. *Goodman* has been longer retained in the language than *goodwife* because the former is found in Biblical language, Matt. xxiv. 43, Luke xii. 39.

13. *philarche*. From the Gk. φύλαρχος=leader of a tribe. More makes Raphael use a Greek name here though afterwards (76. 14) he explains that this is only a modern equivalent of the Utopian word "syphograunte," which of course has no derivation.

25. *occupiers of husbandrye*, i.e. those who devote themselves to farm-work. The *Lat*. is "agricolæ" only,=husbandmen.

P. 71, line 2. *pulleyne*, i.e. poultry. Used as a collective noun. It is derived from Lat. *pullus*=a chicken. Cp. Burton's *Anatomy*, p. 550, "So huntsmen make their dogs love them, and farmers their *pullen*."

3. *by a mervaylouse policye*, i.e. by a wonderful contrivance, *Lat*. "mirabili artificio."

14. *sodeyne brunte*=an exertion made for a moment. The *Lat*. has "impetus" which here we may render "a rush."

16. *hardnes*, used as we now employ "hardship." Cp. 2 Tim. ii. 3, "Endure *hardness* as a good soldier of Jesus Christ."

24. *meathe*, i.e. mead, A.S. *medu*, a sweet drink, such as is described in the text.

P. 72, line 3. *holy daye*, kept on the first and last day of every month. See p. 155. 5.

15. *namely*, i. e. particularly. *Lat.* has "nominatim"=specially named. Cp. for the old English use of the word, Spenser, *F. Q.* III. 14. 8, "Mongst which he *namely* did to him discourse Of former days' mishap, his sorrow's wicked source."

20. *it skilleth not*, it does not matter. *Lat.* has "refert." Cp. Shaks. *Taming of Shrew*, III. 2. 134, "Whate'er he be, *it skills not* much, we'll fit him to our turn."

22. *knowledge*, i.e. acknowledge. Cp. *Institution of a Christian Man*, Art. 9, "I do profess and *knowledge*, that there is one certain number of the elect people of God."

P. 73, line 2. *Anyder.* Like all the other names which More invents for his fabled land, this of the river indicates its non-existence. The word is derived from Gk. ἄνυδρος=waterless, an apt name for an Utopian river.

10. *By all that space*, i.e. Throughout all that distance. "Hoc toto spacio" is the original.

16. *chaungeth.* The *Lat.* has "spoils," "corrupts," "corrumpit."

18. *foreby*, i.e. past. Cp. below, line 26. The *Lat.* has "urbem perlabitur."

26. *passe alonge forbie all the side of the citie without let*, i.e. sail past the whole city without being hindered.

P. 74, line 5. *derived*, i.e. turned aside, conducted. This is the literal sense of the Lat. *derivare.*

cannels of bricke. We now say *channel*, but still retain *canal.* The *Lat.* is "canalibus coctilibus,"=in channels of baked (clay).

11. *walle full of turrettes*, i.e. having turrets at frequent intervals. *Lat.* "turribus frequens"=abundant in towers.

16. *for carriage*, i.e. carriage traffic. *Lat.* "vectura."

21. *twentie foote brode*, no doubt deemed a great width for a street in More's time, and as we may still see in some cities of the continent.

27. *with two leaves*, i.e. as folding doors. *Lat.* "bifores."

P. 75, line 15. *platte fourme*, the laying out, the level simple form. The *Lat.* has only "figura"=form, fashion.

21. M. vii. C. lx., i.e. one thousand seven hundred and sixty.

24. *at all adventures*, i.e. hap-hazard. The *Lat.* has "temere"= at random. Cp. Burton's *Anatomy*, p. 705, "For we are born *at all adventure*, and we shall be hereafter as though we had never been."

29. *storyes.* The word is from A.S. *stigan*=to climb, and is akin to *stairs*, *stirrop* (i.e. the rope for climbing to the horse's back) *stile*, and the provincial (North) *stee*=a ladder.

P. 76, line 1. *perishe*=used as an active verb=to destroy. Cp. Coverdale's *Works*, p. 96, "Whensoever unseasonable weather shall hurt and *perish* the corn."

5. *somhere*, of the same form as *somewhere.* The word means, "in some places" or "at some times." The *Lat.* has "interim"=sometimes.

6. *commodities.* From Lat. *commodum*=an advantage.

17. *tranibore.* This word like *Syphogrante*, *Abraxa* and others which purport to be parts of [illegible] ia itself,

things of More's invention, and therefore without explanation or derivation.

26. *put up to*, i.e. recommended to. We still use the expression "to put up" of persons when proposed at an election.

30. *lightlie*, i.e. without weighty reason, rashly. The *Lat.* has "temere." Cp. Shaks. *Tit. And.* II. 3. 289, "Tears not *lightly* shed."

P. 77, line 7. *by and by*. As above, 37. 28, this expression = immediately, at once. The Latin here has "mature" = in good time.

13. *It is deathe*, i.e. It is counted a capital offence, one worthy of death. *Lat.* "capitale habetur."

18. *appresse*. This is the spelling of the original edition, but is probably an error for *oppresse*.

20. *be broughte to the election house of the siphograuntes*. *Of* in this sentence = by. Cp. Luke xiv. 8, where *bidden of* = *bidden by*. Also Nash, *Pierce Pennilesse*, p. 30, "They are made (i.e. described) *of* them that sell them that they are rare and precious things."

30. *that commeth* = that which cometh. For the English cp. Pr. Book, *Morn. Prayer*, 3rd *Collect*, "to do always that (= that which) is righteous in thy sight."

to his tonges ende. The Latin has "quod in buccam primum venerit."

P. 78, line 2. *his owne existimation*, i.e. the reputation in which he is held by himself and others. The Latin is "opinio de se." The English word is not common. Cp. *Spectator*, No. 456, "How this is to be accounted for I know not; but men's *existimation* follows us according to the company we keep."

3. *ashamed to be counted anye thing at the firste oversene in the matter*, i.e. not liking to be thought in any degree to have judged wrongly from the first. The *Lat.* has "ne initio parum prospexisse videatur" = lest at the outset he should appear to have had too little foresight. For the word *oversee* = to lack foresight, cp. Grindal's *Remains*, p. 312, "But I thank God there is none sick in my house, neither would I so far have *overseen* myself, as to have sent to her Majesty, if I had not been most assured that my man's sickness was not of the plague."

22. *several* = separate, special.

P. 79, line 4. *weldynge*, i.e. wielding, managing.

14. *stande to anye other*, i.e. be inclined to follow a different trade. The *Lat.* has "aliò trahat" = incline otherwise.

17. *fantasy* = fancy, make choice of. The noun *fantasy* maintained a place in the language much longer than the verb.

26. *applye*. We now use the shortened word and speak of a man *plying* his craft. Cp. for the older use Pilkington's *Works*, p. 5, "Let us earnestly *apply* our work while we have time."

P. 80, line 3. [iii] *before noone*. In the original text of Robynson iii is omitted, but the Latin has "*tres* ante meridiem."

8. *at*. Thus in the original text, but probably a printer's error for *as*.

9. *voide*, i.e. unoccupied, having no special duties assigned to it.

18. *namelye*, i.e. specially. Cp. 72. 15. The *Lat.* here also is "nominatim."

22. *this notwithstanding*. We should now use the reverse order, and say, "notwithstanding this.'

24. *rise not*. This is a literal rendering of the *Lat.* "consurgit," which has the sense of "aspire," "aim after."

P. 81, line 4. *a set fyld*, "a set field"=a regularly ordered battle-field. *Lat.* "acies."

26. *somewhere*=in some places or countries.

27. *in their steade the men be ydle*. The Latin is very vigorous, "earum vice viri stertunt"=the men are snoring in sleep.

29. *relygious men*. This was the common appellation of those who devoted themselves to monastic life. Cp. Bacon's *Henry VII.* (Pitt Press Series), p. 5, "Though the king gave charge unto the friars of Leicester to see an honourable interment to be given to [the body of Richard III.], yet the *religious* people themselves neglected it."

P. 82, line 1. *that flocke of stoute bragging russhe bucklers*. The *Lat.* has "cetratorum nebulonum colluvies"=that rabble of buckler-wearing scoundrels. The idea meant to be conveyed by the noun "rush-buckler" appears to be "a man as worthless as one would be in war if he were armed only with a buckler made of rushes."

2. *valiaunte beggers*, i.e. those who are strong enough to work, but who prefer the idle life of a beggar. The expression occurs frequently in the Acts of Parliament about the time of the Suppression of the Monasteries, and sturdy beggars are oft mentioned in the Acts of Elizabeth. See Lingard's *History of England*, v. 127, and the statutes there quoted, "The mendicants who had formerly obtained relief at the gates of the monasteries and convents, now wandered in crowds through the country, and by their numbers and importunity often extorted alms from the intimidated passenger."

7. *frequented*=employed. Cp. Webbe, *Discourse of English Poetrie* (Arber), p. 56, "Which rude kind of verse being so ingraffed by custom, and *frequented* by the most part, I may not utterly disallow it."

10. *where money beareth all the swinge*. *Lat.* "ubi omnia pecuniis metimur"=where we measure everything by money. Cp. for the expression, 61. 19.

14. *so fewe*, i.e. no greater number. "If they were allotted *only* to those occupations, &c."

P. 83, line 10. *hoope of him conceaved*, i.e. hope conceived of him, the expectation formed concerning him.

15. *handy occupation*. The manual toil, labour wrought by hands. We still say *handicraft*, but do not write in two words.

20. *Adamus*. The Latin text gives *Ademus*, "quem Ademum appellant."

28. *asketh*. In the sense of "demandeth," "must have." Cp. Shaks. *Taming of Shrew*, II. 1. 115, "My business *asketh* haste."

P. 84, line 1. *the howse that stoode one man in muche moneye*, i.e. which cost him much money. Cp. below, line 27. The phrase is a literal translation of the Latin "sumptu stetit."

7. *in a good staye*, i.e. well settled. Cp. Pr. Bk. Burial Service, "Man...never continueth in one *stay*."

20. *homely*, i.e. in a homely, thrifty fashion, without cost. The *Lat.* has "neglectim"=negligently.

31. *that is no thinge passed for*, i.e. that is not regarded or cared about. The *Lat.* is "nullum tenuioris fili pretium est"=no value is set on finer thread. For the English, cp. Pilkington's *Works*, p. 529. "To break God's commandment, they *passed not of it*, so that they might follow their own device."

P. 85, line 5. *hapte*, i.e. covered, enwrapped. The word is considered by Wedgwood as a corruption of *whap=wlap*. Cp. "Lappyn or whappyn in clothes," *Prompt. Parv.*

The word is found=enclosed in Gascoigne's *Complaint of Philomene* (Arber), p. 102:

> "While Philomene full close
> In shepcote stil was clapt,
> Enforst to bide by stonie walls
> Which fast in hold hir *hapt*."

18. *pretended*, i.e. set before the mind, regarded.

P. 86, line 5. *occupieng and enterteynement*, i.e. usages and intercourse. The Latin has only "commercia."

8. *kinredes*. This is the proper form of the word, the older English being *kunrede* or *kynrede*, and the last syllable being the same as is found in hat*red* and hund*red*. The *d* is introduced to strengthen the liquid *r*, in the same way as the *b* in *humble*, from *humilis* and *remember* from *memini*.

12. *governed of*=governed by.

29. *next land*=nearest land.

P. 87, line 23. *fulfyll*=complete, fill up. Cp. Burton's *Anatomy*, p. 621, "A virtuous woman rejoiceth her husband and she shall *fulfil* the years of his life in peace."

P. 88, line 4. *severall*. Here the word is an adverb=separately. The Latin has "seorsum"=apart.

8. *without any gage, pawne, or pledge*, i.e. without leaving anything as security for payment. *Lat.* "sine omni prorsus hostimento"= without any requital at all.

20. *meate markettes*. *Meat* in the earlier English was used for any food, and not as now applied to animal food alone. The disciples in the Gospel answer Christ's question, "Have ye any meat?" by saying they have bread and a few fishes.

P. 89, line 12. *the sycke that be cured in the hospitalles*. *Cured* here=taken care of. The *Lat.* is "curantur"=are cared for.

18. *strayte*, i.e. confined in space, in too narrow room.

P. 90, line 13. *of smal honestie*, i.e. not very creditable conduct. This meaning of *honest* is that of the *Lat.* "honestus"=honourable, and the word in old English had seldom the sense of "upright," which is now almost its sole meaning. Cp. for the old meaning, Shaks. *Oth*[illegible] IV. 1. 288, "It is not *honesty* in me to speak what I have seen."

19. *by course*, i.e. in turns, as above.

P. 91, line 22. *over wharte*, i.e. overthwart, across the u[illegible] *the hall.*

P. 92, line 11. *equall commoditie commeth to every one*, i.e. every one's convenience is alike consulted.

13. *of redinge*, i.e. with reading. *Lat.* "ab aliqua lectione."

29. *Nor their bankettes lacke no conceytes nor jonketes.* The double negative is not uncommon in Robynson's English. *Conceit* is used for any fanciful device, here applied to confectionery. An old name for such *conceits* was "a subtilty." Thus Fabyan's *Chron.* Hen. V., p. 7, fol. clxxxi. b. we read of "a sotyltie named a Tigre lokyng in a Mirrour and a man syttyng on horse backe clene armyd holding in his armys a tiger whelpe."

Junkets used for sweet cakes is found in Milton, *L'Allegro*, 104,

> "With stories told of many a feat,
> How fairy Mab the *junkets* eat."

The Latin has only "bellaria"=confectionery, for both the English words.

Robynson uses *bankette*, i.e. banquet, for More's Latin "mensa secunda,"=what we now call *dessert*.

33. *maketh for*, i.e. tendeth unto, helps on. Cp. Grindal, *Remains*, p. 42, "If you will needs cleave to the letter, you *make for* me, and hinder your own cause."

P. 93, line 20. *some profitable let*, i.e. some expedient reason for refusing it. *Lat.* "nisi si quis usus impediat"=unless some necessity prevent.

P. 94, line 5. *very gentilly enterteined*=very kindly treated.

6. *of his owne heade*=without permission. *Lat.* "semet auctore."

24. *ale houses.* The *Lat.* has "cervisiaria" derived from *cervisia*, which is said to be a Gallic word meaning "beer."

P. 95, line 3. *whether*, i.e. whither, as in 88. 20.

7. *incontinent the lacke of the one is perfourmed*, i.e. immediately the deficiency in one place is fully made up, &c. The *Lat.* has "alterius inopiam alterius protinus ubertas explet"=at once the abundance of one place supplies the want of the other.

19. *proffe*, i.e. proof. The whole clause signifies "because of the uncertainty how next year's crop may prove."

22. *madder*, a plant formerly much used in dyeing. The *Lat.* has "coccus"=the cochineal-dye.

felles, i.e. skins, Lat. *pellis*. We still have the word "fell-monger."

26. *meane price*=moderate price. *Lat.* "pretio mediocri."

P. 96, line 1. *payed at a daye*, i.e. paid for it at some day agreed upon.

2. *followe the credence of privat men*, i.e. trust to the credit of private individuals. They have a guarantee from the whole city.

4. *instrumentes*, i.e. legal documents. Cp. Shaks. *Othello*, IV. 1. 232, where Othello speaking of the letter of greeting sent to him by the duke and senators of Venice, says, "I kiss the *instrument* of their pleasures."

7. *the citie gathereth up the debte of the private debtoures. Of*

is plain in the Latin which uses *a*, "a privatis

13. *they thinke it no righte nor conscience.* They do not consider it fair or just.

P. 97, line 1. *presentlye*, i. e. when I was present. Here, as before 64. 13, the *Lat.* has "præsens" = being present.

4. *guise and trade* = fashion and custom. The *Lat.* has simply "mores" = manners. Guise = wise, as in the expression "to act on this *wise*." For *trade*, cf. *Rich. II.* (3. 1. 156) Wright's note.

6. *indifferent estimer*, i. e. an impartial estimator, or judge. *Lat.* "prudens rerum æstimator" = a prudent judge of matters. For the use of *indifferent* = impartial, fair, cp. Grindal, *Remains*, p. 40, "I am not partial, but *indifferent* to all parties; for I never go further than the truth."

11. *occupie not money*, i.e. use it not.

17. *under iron*, i. e. inferior in usefulness.

20. *that we may not well lacke*, i. e. may not easily do without. Cp. Shaks. *As you like it*, IV. 1. 182, "Dear love, I cannot *lack* thee two hours." Cf. Lat. *carere*.

P. 98, line 8. *from ours...very farre discripant*, i.e. very different from ours.

17. *private*. The original text has *pravate* by an error of the press.

27. *forgo*, i. e. resign and dispense with. The *Lat.* has "distrahi patiuntur" = suffer to be reft away from them.

P. 99, line 7. *shamefastenesse*. This is the older orthography of the word which in the modern language has been corrupted into "shamefacedness."

9 *nuttes, brouches, and puppettes*. *Lat.* "nuces, bullas et pupas." *Brooches* we still have in the language; *puppet* was the old word for *a doll*. We still have the word in "*puppet show*" where the characters are represented by dolls. The more modern word is "marionettes." For the old word, cp. Hakluyt, *Voyages*, I. 96, "Over the master's head there is always an image, like a *puppet*, made of felt, which they call the master's brother." Germ. *puppe*. Fr. *poupée*.

13. *Anemolians*. Another word formed from the Greek. ἀνεμώλιος = windy, and hence may fitly be a name for empty boasters, such as these ambassadors are described to have been at first.

16. *entreate of*, i.e. treat of. Cp. 69. 21.

those three, i. e. who have been already spoken of. See 69. 20.

22. *infamed*, held in no repute, counted a disgrace. Cp. 98. 20, where gold is described as the badge of criminals. Also 100. 10, "infamed persones" = persons who are infamous.

32. *silie*, i.e. simple, innocent.

33. *in chaungeable colours*. Apparently the sort of material which we now call "shot silk," which varies its colours with the varying lights. Cp. Shaks. *Twelfth Night*, II. 4. 76, "Thy doublet of changeable taffeta." Perhaps the word has the same sense in Isaiah, iii. 22, "the changeable suits of apparel," though it may be only the number of changes of apparel that is intended, for to have many changes of raiment was a sign of luxury in the East.

P. 100, line 5. *aglettes.* This word is Fr. *aiguillette*=a small needle. Thence it was used for the tag of a lace, and so here for any tags or pendants. Cp. Puttenham, *Art of English Poesie* (Arber) p. 291, "A certain knight, of all other most vain, would commonly come to the sessions so bedect with buttons and *aglets* of gold, and such costly embroideries, as the poor plain men of the country called him, (for his gayness) the golden knight."

11. *it wolde have done a man good at his harte.* The *Lat.* has "operae pretium erat"=it was well worth while.

12. *howe proudelye they displeyed theire pecockes fethers. Lat.* "quo pacto cristas erexerint," which Robynson has, after his manner doubly translated by this clause and the next.

15. *gallaunte*, i. e. ornamental, splendid. We seldom use the word in this sense except of ships in modern English.

23. *resonable*, i.e. fit and suitable. The *Lat.* has "idoneus."

33. *lubbor*, used of any lounging idle good-for-nothing. The sense of the word seems to be connected with *lap* the hanging part of the dress, and so to signify any hang-about worthless fellow. From same root we have "Lob" the name of the lazy "lubber fiend," and also *label*, *lappet* and *lobe* the lower part of the ear.

P. 101, line 14. *them iii.* The number is mentioned, 99. 32.

19. *For they marveyle*, i. e. the Utopians marvel.

29. *of the owne nature.* We now say "of its own nature." The *Lat.* has "suapte natura."

P. 102, line 2. *noughtynes*, i. e. wickedness.

7. *cautele*, from Lat. *cautela*=precaution. But the English word was used with a bad sense=quibble, deceit. Cp. Shaks. *Hamlet*, 1. 3. 15, "No soil nor *cautel* doth besmirch the virtue of his will."

9. *dryvell.* The word is connected with *drip* and *dribble*, in the sense of "running in drops" and is applied to one whose conversation has but little sense in it, and that uttered only as it were in a drop at a time. Hence generally=a dotard, a stupid fool.

11. *as an augmentation or overplus.* The original text has *nor* instead of *or*, by a mistake of the press. The sense is that, beside his money, the man himself shall go, as a sort of make-weight, into the service of his former servant. The money is of so much more account than the man, that he is, as it were, thrown into the bargain.

14. *daunger*, i.e. power. To whom they are not under any obligation.

17. *nigeshe penny fathers.* The adjective *nigeshe* is akin to *niggard*, and that perhaps to *nigh.* The sense is of pinching and squeezing.

In *penny-father* the idea seems to be that of careful hoarding, and preserving of the pence, as a father would preserve his children. The word is found in Prynne's *Histriomastix*, pt. II. act IV. sc. 1, "Quintilian expressly forbids [an orator] to imitate the voice and gestures of players, or to express or act the slaves, the drunkards, lovers, *penni-fathers*, cowards, or any such play-house part."

P. 103, line 6. *wordle.* This is a very common transp[illegible] the letters of this word in our early literature.

17. *clerkes*, used in early English of any student. Cp. Chaucer's *Clerk of Oxenford* (Prologue 285).

20. *restrictions, amplifications, and suppositions*. These words, and some in the sentence which follows, are terms used in the books of logic of More's day, and are here put down in ridicule of their pretensions to subtle distinction as definitions. This is indicated by the marginal note.

22. *small logicalles*, i.e. elementary treatises on logic. "Parva Logicalia," which is the expression that More uses, was the title by which the seventh part, or section, of the *Summulæ Logicales* of Petrus Hispanus (afterwards Pope John XXI., who died 1277) was best known. It was often published as a separate treatise. It speaks much of the use of substantives and especially of their *suppositio*, i.e. the representation of the more special by the more general. See Ueberweg's *System of Logic*, p. 40.

24. *second intentions*. See Additional Note, p. 233.

P. 104, line 2. *amityes and dissentions of the planettes*. In judicial astrology we read much of the affinity and opposition between the planets. The study of astrology has left its mark on many of Chaucer's writings, and, though here scoffed at by More, did not lose its hold on the popular mind for a long while to come, and the terms of the science have become incorporated in our speech, and such words as *jovial, martial, saturnine, mercurial*, &c., indicate the influence which the planets were supposed to exert on those who were born under their influence.

26. *the felicitye of man*. Much of what More has here set down on this subject is derived from Aristotle's *Ethics* or Cicero *de Finibus*.

P. 105, line 15. *dysanulled*, i.e. brought into little esteem, and so eventually disregarded.

18. *be*, i.e. by. Probably an error of the press.

P. 106, line 8. *Of whose goodnes it is that we be*, &c., i.e. that we exist, and have the possible chance of attaining unto happiness.

P. 107, line 7. *accordynge to the prescripte of nature*, i.e. following the dictates of nature. More uses Cicero's phrase, "secundum naturam."

12. *carke*. This is an intensive form of the verb *to care*, derived from an adj. A.S. *cearig*=anxious, full of care. Cp. for the same kind of usage as in the text, Holland's *Plutarch*, p. 5, "What mean you my masters, and whither run you headlong, *carking* and caring all that ever you can to gather goods and rake riches together as you do?"

25. *These lawes not offended*. These words stand as a kind of case absolute, a construction which is only used in English in imitation of Greek and Latin. More's text has the ablative absolute, "his inoffensis legibus." We should now write, "So long as these laws are not infringed." At the close of the sentence *wealthe*=well-being.

30. *to let an other man of his pleasure*, i.e. to hinder him from it.

P. 108, line 26. *furtheraunce*, i.e. aid, assistance. Cp. Webbe, *Discourse of English Poetrie*, p. 28, "great helps and *furtheraunces* to the obtaining of good letters."

28. *taken place*, i.e. settled themselves, got a firm hold. *I*

"insederunt." Cp. Burton's *Anatomy*, p. 539, "when this last engine would *take no place*, they left him to his own ways."

P. 109, line 13. *passe*, i.e. excel. *Lat.* "praecellere."

14. *and not by their mistakyng*, i.e. and as though it were not an error of theirs to think this.

avaunce themselfes, i.e. plume themselves, give themselves airs. *Lat.* "attollunt cristas" = set up their comb.

19. *displeasauntly*, i.e. unpleasantly. *Dis* was much more used as a negative prefix in the older language than it is at present. So we have such words as *disquantity* = to lessen the quantity of, *disbranch* = to pull off the branches, *disedge* = to take the edge off, *displant*, to take up a plant and remove it; all which words are in Shakespeare.

20. *lyke madnes*, i.e. the same sort of madness. The *Lat.* makes this quite plain, "ejusdem inscitiæ est."

26. *for the opinion of nobilitie*, i.e. because they fancy they are nobly born.

32. *not the lesse noble therfore of one heare*, i.e. not the less noble on that account by one single hair; "ne pilo quidem minus sibi nobiles videntur" is More's Latin.

P. 110, line 6. *styll*, i.e. constantly. Cp. Shaks. *Tempest*, I. 2. 229, "The *still* vexed Bermoothes," i.e. the constantly storm-beaten Bermudas.

7. *Nor they bye them not.* Where we now should employ but one negative and say, "Nor do they buy them."

20. *Or of them*, i.e. Or are they of them, &c.

28. *as one out of all care*, i.e. free from all care; *Lat.* "animi jam securus."

P. 111, line 17. *of a dogge*, i.e. by a dog; and so *of* = by, in the rest of this sentence.

21. *rejected*, i.e. made it over, assigned it to them, as their special work, and unfit for free men.

P. 112, line 23. *yf it be not letted nor assaulted with no greif*, i.e. if no grief assail or interfere with it. *letted* = hindered.

P. 113, line 13. *it maketh nothing to this matter*, i.e. it has nothing to do with this matter. *Lat.* "nihil enim ad hanc rem referre putant" = they think it relates in no way to this point.

19. *beganne to be appayred*, i.e. was beginning to be impaired or damaged. *Lat.* "labefactari cœperat." For the English *appair* cp. Wycliffe, N. T., 1 Cor. v. 6, "Witen (know) yhe not that a litel sourdow (sour-dough = leaven) *apeyreth* al the gobet (lump)?"

22. *procedyng*, i.e. progress, advance. *Lat.* "profectus."

23. *onwardnes*, i.e. onward movement. The word is only added as an explanation of "procedyng" in the previous line, and has nothing to represent it in the original. It is of the same form as "towardnes," which occurs often in this book. See Glossary.

28. *incontinent*. *Lat.* "protinus," straightway, at once.

29. *the owne wealthe*, where we should now say "its own wealth." *Its* was not an English word in Robynson's time, and is only once found in the A. V. of the Bible of 1611. The *Lat.* here has "bona sua" = its own good.

P. 114, line 5. *imbrace*, i.e. cling to and think most highly of.

18. *carefull griefes*, i.e. griefs which cause care and anxiety. The *Lat.* only has "dolores."

30. *egal*, i.e. equal. This spelling is common in earlier English, and is taken from the Fr. *égal*. For a similar letter-change cp. Lat. *aquila*=an eagle; Fr. *aigle*.

P. 115, line 3. *knowledge*, i.e. acknowledge. Cp. 72. 22.

20. *alowe*, in the sense of L. *allaudare*=praise, approve of. So 117. 12.

21. *cautel.* Here in the literal sense of *cautela*=a precautionary limitation. The *Lat.* has "modus"=a measure.

25. *sloughishnesse.* This spelling points to the connexion of the word with *slow*, which is somewhat obscured by the modern orthography *sluggish*.

30. *forborne*, i.e. declined. The *Lat.* turns the phrase differently, thus "cujus laboris vice"=in return for which toil.

P. 116, line 5. *disdaining to be in her daunger*=determined not to be in her power, or at her mercy; resolved to be under no obligation to her.

13. *lores and ordinaunces.* This is the rendering of "instituta"= their institutions, or principles.

24. *husbande*, i.e. ply the art of husbandry on.

28. *exploited and furnished.* This, as is so often Robynson's manner, is a double rendering. The original has "administrata"= managed, performed, despatched. *Exploit* as a verb is somewhat rare, but is found in Warner *Albion's England*, bk. 3, ch. 16, "Survive and tell the western world what we *exploited* have."

P. 117, line 18. *incontinente*, is here the rendering of "statim"= immediately.

31. *withoute anie staye*, i.e. without any difficulty or hindrance. The *Lat.* has "inoffense"=without stumbling.

32. *if the booke were not false*, i.e. unless there was some misreading in the text. *Lat.* "nisi obstent libri menda"=unless faults of the book prevented them.

P. 118, line 1. *allyaunte*, i.e. kindred, allied. The word is not common.

5. *Greke langage.* As has been frequently noticed already, More has formed most of the names in his story from Greek roots, with such a meaning as best suits his narrative.

8. *a prety fardel*, i.e. a moderate-sized bundle. Fr. *fardeau*, but the word is found in various forms in many languages, and is no doubt akin to Lat. *fero* and Gk. φέρω=to bear. For an example of the English word, cp. Shaks. *Winter's Tale*, IV. 4, 781, "The *fardel* there? What's i' the *fardel?* Wherefore that box?" For *pretty*= moderately great, cp. Shaks. *Lucrece*, 1233, "A *pretty* while these pretty creatures stand." The word is still used in colloquial English in this sense, as when we say "pretty good," "pretty well," &c.

9. *rather never than shortly*, i.e. rather to remain there altogether, than to make only a brief stay.

11. *Theophrastus.* A Greek author who flourished about 322 B.C. He is best known to classical scholars by his work descriptive of various "Characters," but he also wrote on natural history (*Physica*).

13. *a marmoset*, a small kind of monkey. The *Lat.* has "cercopithêcus" = a long-tailed ape. The English word is found in Drayton's *Heroical Epistles* (Mrs Shore to Edward IV.), "What sports have we whereon our minds to set? Our dog, our parrot, or our marmozet."

17. *Lascaris*, a Greek grammarian of Constantinople, who flourished in the 15th century.

Theodorus. He was a famous grammarian of the 12th century.

18. *Hesichius*, i.e. Hesychius, an Alexandrine grammarian under whose name a Greek dictionary (much corrupted) has come down to us. Of the date and personal history of Hesychius nothing certain is known.

Dioscorides. The Roman grammarian of that name, who flourished A.D. 117—138. He edited the works of Hippocrates, so that he (as well as his more famous namesake, the physician to Cleopatra) seems to have given attention to physic.

19. *Plutarches bookes.* The philosopher who wrote the *Lives* of celebrated Greeks and Romans, and lived about A.D. 80. His other well-known work is the *Moralia*.

20. *Lucianes mery conceytes.* Lucian was a Greek writer famous for his satirical dialogues. He lived about A.D. 160.

21. *Aristophanes.* The most noted writer of Greek comedies. He lived about 430 B.C., in the midst of the events of the Peloponnesian war, which supplied him with abundant material for his ridicule.

Homer. The best known Greek Epic poet. His works are assigned to about 900 B.C.

22. *Euripides and Sophocles.* Two of the most celebrated Greek tragedians. Sophocles flourished about 470 B.C., and Euripides was born 480 B.C.

Aldus. One of the most famous of the early printers. The head of the family was Aldus Pius Manutius, and the Aldine family after him were for a long time celebrated printers at Venice. Aldus was not only a printer but a famous scholar, which accounts for the value of the editions which appeared before his death which took place in 1515. The first book printed by the Aldine press was (as is supposed) issued about 1494.

23. *Thucidides, Herodotus, and Herodian.* These are all Greek historians, but living at different dates. Herodotus (of Halicarnassus) who flourished about 443 B.C. wrote, in nine books, which he named after the nine Muses, a sort of general history, or rather an account of such nations as had been connected with Greek affairs, as Egypt, Persia and the kingdoms of Asia Minor.

Thucydides, banished from Athens, B.C. 423, wrote a history of the Peloponnesian war in eight books.

Herodian lived about 238 A.D.

25. *Hippocrates*, the famous Greek physi[illegible] may be called the founder of the art of medicin[illegible]

26. *Galenes Microtechne.* Ga[illegible] learned and voluminous writer o[illegible]

Pergamus about A.D. 130, and died A.D. 200. The work alluded to in the text is called τέχνη ἰατρική, i.e. *Ars medica*, but it was generally known as *Microtechne* (i.e. Ars parva) to distinguish it from the more famous and elaborate work by Galen called *Methodus Medendi*.

P. 119, line 7. *intentively*. We now say *attentively*. For the older word cp. Shaks. *Othello*, I. 3. 155, "Whereof by parcels she had something heard, but not *intentively*" (i.e. with close attention).

11. *marvelour*, i.e. admirer. The *Lat.* has "admirator."

17. *feates*, i.e. arts. *Lat.* has "artes:" cp. the following lines, where the word is explained by "scyence" and "crafte." See also line 32 below.

24. *speaking sumwhat more then*, &c.; telling them all we knew and going even beyond what we were able to explain.

29. *rides*, i.e. reeds. The *Lat.* has "papyrus," the word from which our modern *paper* is derived.

31. *assayinge*, i.e. attempting, trying. Cp. Shaks. *Hen. VI.* (2nd pt.) IV. 5. 9, "The rebels have *assayed* to win the Tower."

P. 120, line 7. *sene in the knoweledg:* well experienced, skilled in the knowledge. Cp. 7. 11; 10. 16, &c.

9. *wonders*. This is a genitive case used as an adverb = wondrously. We still use *needs* = of necessity, necessarily, in such expressions as "needs must," &c. Cp. also *sideways* = in an oblique direction, *now-a-days*, *of nights*, &c.

19. *out landes*, i.e. foreign nations. *Lat.* "exteræ gentes."

21. *ure*, i.e. use. We still preserve this interchange of *s* and *r* in the form *inure* = inuse, to familiarize. For *ure*, cp. Puttenham, *Arte of English Poesie* (Arber), p. 55, "More excellent examples may be feigned in one day by a good wit, than many ages through man's frailty are able to put in *ure*." So Pilkington's *Works*, p. 512, "Ye required the Roman laws which ye would practise and put in *ure* within your realm." Cf. also Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.* preface 2. § 2.

P. 121, line 16. *for gramercye*, i.e. *gratis*, which is the Latin word of More. *Gramercye* is a corruption of Fr. *grand merci* = many thanks, and implies a mere word of thanking. Cp. Spenser, *F. Q.* II. 7. 50,

> "*Gramercy*, Mammon, said the gentle knight,
> For so great grace and offered high estate."

20. *godlye*, i.e. goodly, nobly. The *Lat.* has "egregie."

23. *drudge*. The word is derived from the verb *dree* = to endure, which is still used in Scotland in such expressions as "dree your weird" = endure your fate, and so drudge = a bearer of burdens, a hewer of wood and drawer of water. The *Lat.* has "mediastinus," which Robynson has translated by "vile drudge."

P. 122, line 2. *as I sayde*. See p. 89. 11.

3. *lette nothing at al passe*, i.e. allow nothing to be neglected. *Lat.* "nihil omittunt" = they omit nothing.

12. *overlyvinge his owne deathe*. This curious expression is a literal translation of the Latin, which has "morti jam suæ supervivat." The idea is that the man now being unable to do any duty of life, *is to be counted* for dead already, and his continuance in life is

an *overliving*, i.e. outliving his real death-day, which was when he ceased to be able to do any kind of duty. For *overlive*, cp. Puttenham, *Arte of English Poesie* (Arber), p. 285, "Diopithus friends sate by and wept, not so much for Diopithus death, as for pity that he *overlived* not the coming of the king's reward." *Overlive* is found also in Milton, *P. L.* x. 773.

20. *to be rydde oute of it*, i.e. to be relieved from it, taken away from it. *Lat.* "eripi" = to be snatched away from.

22. *lose.* The original text has *lise*, but this is only an error of the press.

27. *dye in theire sleape*=are put to death while sleeping. The Latin gives the true idea, which is of a death by poison. "Sopiti solvuntur," wrote More, = having been put to sleep they are released (i.e. from their burden of pain).

29. *nor they use no lesse dilygence and attendaunce aboute him*, i.e. though he be not willing to adopt the advice given and to put an end to his life, they do not on that account pay less attention to the sick man, while he continues to live, though believing that this voluntary termination of his life, to which they advised him, is an honourable death.

31. *Elles*, i.e. on the other hand.

P. 123, line 1. *with fier to be consumed.* This practice of cremation More probably introduced into his story to give an air of reality to his fiction. For he has spoken before (118. 4) of the connexion of the Utopians in some points with the Persians, and the fire worshippers among that people deemed cremation the best way of disposing of the dead.

2. *marrish.* We now use *marsh* and *morass.* The A.S. was *mersc.* No doubt the simplest stem-word is *mere*, as seen in Winder*mere*, &c. For the older form of the word, cp. Spencer, *F. Q.* v. 10. 23,

"Only these *marishes* and myrie bogs
In which the fearful efts do build their bowers
Yield me an hostry mongst the croaking frogs."

18. *be delte withall.* We now say "be dealt with," but *withall*= *with* is not uncommon in early English. Cp. Shaks., *Measure for Measure*, v. 1. 348, "Such a fellow is not to be talked *withal.*"

28. *the next way to break love*, i.e. the readiest way to weaken affection, if they know they can easily procure a divorce, and marry again.

33. *avoutrers*, i.e. adulterers. The form is due to the Old French modification of the Latin *adulter* into *avoutre.* Cp. the change of *adventura* into *aventure*, and *vidua* into *veuve.*

P. 124, line 2. *the use of wedlocke is not to them forbidden*, i.e. the unoffending party is allowed to continue to live with the offender, though the latter is in bondage, if the innocent person so desire.

10. *eftsones*, i.e. by and by, presently. The *Lat.* has "jam." For the English word cp. Shaks. *Pericles*, v. 1. 256, "*Eftsoons* I'll tell thee why."

18. *the open punyshemente*, i.e. the punishment in public. Cp. Shaks. *Winter's Tale*, II. 2. [illegible] been publicly accused, so shall she have a jus[illegible]

maketh muche for, i.e. is greatly to the advantage of. *Lat.* "intersit." Cp. Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 79 (Arber), "They have nothing but the king in their mouths when it *maketh for* their purpose."

20. *incommoditie.* This is the word in More's text which has "servitutis incommodo." It implies more than *inconvenience*, rather here = *penalty*.

26. *they feare other*, i.e. they frighten others. *Lat.* "deterrent." For this active sense of *fear*, cp. Pilkington's *Works*, p. 59, "They that will not be overcome by gentleness to do their duty must be *feared* with authority."

P. 125, line 4. *cleane*, i.e. entirely. Cp. Lyly, *Euphues* (Arber), p. 289, "You cannot only look through a millstone, but *clean* through the mind."

5. *He that moveth*, i.e. that inciteth or tempteth. Cp. Shaks. *King John*, I. 1. 91, "What doth *move* you to claim your brother's land?"

8. *pretensed purpose*, i.e. the purpose set before you. The more usual sense of this adjective is "pretended." The *Lat.* has here "destinatus" = designed, planned, intended.

10. *did his beste to have no lette*, i.e. used every effort to succeed.

17. *committed to his tuition*, i.e. trusted to his care. This was the original meaning of tuition, and it has only acquired in later times the secondary sense of "teaching and training."

18. *intreate*, i.e. treat, use.

23. *dishonestye.* The word is used in the contrary sense to honesty, which in Robynson's day meant "honourable conduct," so "dishonesty" = dishonourable conduct, and has in this passage none of the modern sense, which connects it always with acts of fraud or theft. Cp. Shaks. *Twelfth Night*, III. 4. 421, "A very dishonest paltry boy, and more a coward than a hare; his *dishonesty* appears in leaving his friend here in necessity and denying him."

24. *imbrayde*, i.e. upbraid. Sometimes written *embrayde*. Cp. Hall's *Chronicle*, *Ed. IV. an.* 4, "He thought it best to dissimule the matter till such a time were come as he might find the king without strength and then to *imbrayde* him with the pleasure that he had done for him."

25. *of that.* We should now say "*with* that."

28. *with payntinges*, i.e. by painting the complexion to make it seem more fair. The *Lat.* has "adjumentum ab fucis quærere" = to seek aid from rouge.

32. *avaunce*, for advance, raise up. For the form, cp. *avoutry* for adultery.

33. *honest conditions and lowlines*, i.e. honour of character and respectfulness. The *Lat.* has "morum probitas et reverentia" = uprightness of morals and reverence. For *condition* = character, cp. Shaks. *Coriolanus*, V. 4. 10, "That so short a time can alter the *condition* of a man."

P. 126, line 3. *feare*, i.e. deter, frighten. Cp. 124. 26.

15. *fearfull*, i.e. causing apprehension and alarm, dreadful, terrible. Cp. Shaks. *Tempest*, I. 2. 468, "He's gentle and not *fearful.*"

use themselves, i.e. behave themselves. Cp. Shaks. *Hen. VIII.* III. 1. 176, "Forgive me, if I have *used myself* unmannerly."

17. *exhibite...dew honour*, i.e. pay due honour.

20. *cap of maintenaunce*. This is an expansion of the Latin text, which has only "vestis aut diadema" = a robe or a diadem. The *cap of maintenance*, sometimes called *the cap of state*, is one of the *regalia*, or royal insignia, granted by the Pope to the sovereigns of England. It was carried before the monarch at the coronation and on other great occasions.

24. *instructe and institute*, i.e. taught and trained.

27. *expositions upon the same*, i.e. explanations written about them.

30. *blinder*, i.e. more obscure. This sense of *blind* is common in the English of More's time. Cp. 127. 11 and 26. See also Shaks. *Rich. III.* V. 3. 62, "The *blind* cave of eternal night." We still speak of "a *blind* alley."

P. 127, line 4. *his man of law*, i.e. his attorney or representative before the tribunal. The *Lat.* has "patronus."

5. *lesse circumstaunce of wordes*, i.e. less circumlocution and ambiguity. *Lat.* has "minus ambagum" = fewer intricacies. Cp. Shaks. *Hen. VI.* (pt. 2) I. 1. 105, "What means this passionate discourse this peroration with such *circumstance*?"

7. *waye*, i.e. weigh, estimate.

8. *hath instructe with*, i.e. hath instructed with, hath trained to. The *Lat.* is "docuit fucum" = hath taught deceit.

beareth out, i.e. supports to the end in their cause.

10. *craftie children*, i.e. crafty persons. This use of *children* for *persons* is familiar from its occurrence in the Prayer Book Version of the Psalms (Ps. cxliv. 7, 11), "Take me out of the great waters, from the hand of strange *children*"; "Save me and deliver me from the hand of strange *children*." *Child* in still older English was frequently added to the names of persons of full age. Thus in the metrical Romance of *King Horn*, the hero is often called "Horn *child*," and this ancient use of the word Byron revived in his "*Childe* Harold."

For the whole phrase *against......children*, the *Lat.* has "contra versutorum calumnias" = against the slanders of the crafty.

14. *grosser*, i.e. the more manifest, and plain to sight. The idea is of a "rough-and-ready law." The *Lat.* has "crassus" = coarse. The same expression is found below, line 21. Cp. also line 29.

15. *allowe*. Here, as often, = praise, approve of.

P. 128, line 6. *holsomely*, i.e. wholesomely, as we now write the word.

17. *take place*, i.e. find a place in, get an influence upon judicial decisions. The *Lat.* has "incubuere," in the sense of "to move and influence by pressure, as bribery and friendship may influence judges.

18. *breake justice*, i.e. break down justice, and do away with it. The *Lat.* has "dissolvunt."

28. *passe for wordes*, i.e. care for them, as the *Lat.* expresses by "curaturum." Cp. Puttenham, *Art of English Poesie* (Arber), p. 125, "They are all given to thrift, and *passing for* (i.e. caring for) none art that is not gainful and lucrative."

31. *sklenderly*, i.e. slenderly. Here in the sense of *slightly*. The introduction of *k* or *c* into this word is found in very early English—cp. Chaucer's *Prologue*, 587, "The Reve was a *sclendre* colerik man"—but appears to have no warrant in the etymology, which would connect the word with *slim;* and the word appears with *k* or *c* in many of the Teutonic languages. But there were many words in the old language which were written with *skl* or *scl*, and *sklender* seems to have been written to conform with such forms as *sclaundre*=slander, *sclate*=slate, &c.

P. 129, line 8. *they thinke well*, i.e. they are right in thinking. *Lat.* "merito censent"=justly they think.

9. *by a peculiare name be called faithful*, i.e. because they hold the faith of Christ, for which reason they are called Christians.

15. *cavillation*, i.e. some ground of objection or dispute. The *Lat.* has "calumnia"=a perverting or wresting of the words.

16. *of purpose*=on purpose. *Lat.* "de industria."

24. *worthye to be punnyshed with a shamefull deathe.* *Lat.* "rem furca dignam," a matter worthy of crucifixion; the Roman expression, because with them crucifixion was the death of the greatest malefactors.

25. *yea even very they*, i.e. even the selfsame persons. *Lat.* "hi nimirum ipsi"=forsooth these very men themselves.

avaunce themselves, i.e. advance themselves, are proud of what they do. *Lat.* "gloriantur"=boast.

28. *avaleth it self*, i.e. sinketh down. This word is from the same root as *avalanche*, and is the Fr. *avaler*=to descend, derived from Lat. *ad vallem*=down to the valley. It is a frequent word in Spenser: cp. *F. Q.* II. 9. 10, "But when they came in sight, And from their sweaty coursers did *avale*, They found the gates fast barred." More's Latin is "subsidat"=sinketh.

31. *goynge afote* (i.e. on foot) *and crepynge lowe by* (i.e. near) *the grounde.* More says "pedestris et humirepa," which is very forcibly rendered in the text.

33. *it shall not run at rovers*, i.e. shall not stray at random. The *Lat.* is "ne septa transilire queat"=lest it should be able to overleap the enclosure. For a like phrase, cp. Scott, *Christian Life*, pt. II. c. 3, "Unless a wise man hath the keeping it [i.e. wit] that knows when and where and how to apply it, it is like wild fire that flies *at rovers*, runs hissing about, and blows up every thing that comes in its way."

P. 130, line 3. *to the which nothing is unlawfull that it lusteth after.* A very good rendering of More's very neat Latin, "cui nihil non liceat nisi quod non libeat."

5. *evell kepers*, i.e. faithless observers.

9. *was very evell begon*, i.e. it was a bad thing that they ever were instituted, because, as he goes on to say, they made men feel like adversaries one to another.

18. *as farfurth*, &c., i.e. if it so happen that through incautious wording of the league, there be not included in it a clause which clearly prohibits such robbing and stealing. The *Lat.* is "quatenus per imprudentiam dictandi fœderis, nihil quod prohibeat satis caute comprehensum in pactis est."

P. 131, line 2. *very beastly*, "rem plane beluinam."

6. *against glorie*, i.e. as the contrary of glory, and so inglorious and disgraceful.

10. *lest they should be to seke in the feate of armes*, i.e. lest they should be incapable of deeds of arms if need be to display them. *Lat.* "ne ad bellum sint inhabiles." For the phrase, "to be to seek"=to be wanting in, cp. Puttenham, *Arte of English Poesie*, p. 169, "So shall not our English poets, though they *be to seek* of the Greek and Latin languages, lament for lack of knowledge sufficient to the purpose of this art." So Naunton's *Fragmenta Regalia* (Arber), p. 28, "He was not *to seek* to play his part well and dexterously"; and p. 36, "But I confess I *am to seek* (i.e. am at a loss) wherefore he suffered Parry to play so long on the hook before he hoysed him up."

18. *not ever*, i.e. not always. *Lat.* "non semper."

22. *the contrarie part*, i.e. the opposite side.

27. *muche more mortally*, i.e. with much more hostility and fierceness. *Lat.* "multo infestius."

28. *their frendes marchauntes*, i.e. the merchants of their friends, with whom their friends deal.

P. 132, line 1. *Nephelogetes*, a word formed as if from Gk. νεφέλη, a cloud, and so meaning a people in the clouds; a name equally appropriate with many others which More has fashioned in his story.

2. *Alaopolitanes*, formed as if from ἀλαός=blind, and πόλις=a city: so that the name would signify "Blind Man's Town," a name befitting the policy ascribed below to its inhabitants.

9. *shrewedly*, i.e. severely, badly. The adjective *shrewd* had in old English the sense of *evil*, *injurious*, *mischievous*. Cp. Shaks. *All's Well*, III. 5. 71, "This young maid might do her a shrewd (i.e. evil) turn." So too *Hen. V.* III. 7. 163, "These English are *shrewdly* (i.e. to a lamentable degree) out of beef."

17. *prosequute*. The orthography is due to the Lat. word *prosequor*, from which our "prosecute" is derived. See also 133. 32.

19. *coveyne*, i.e. deceit. See 33. 10, note.

be wiped beside their goodes, i.e. be defrauded of them. The *Lat.* has "circumscripti"=defrauded. This figurative expression is common enough in Gk. and Lat., see under ἀπομύσσειν and *emungere* in the lexicons, but it is not common in English. The notion seems to be that one while wiping the man's eyes as if in civil attention, should at the same time steal off with his property.

21. *occupieng*, i.e. trading. Latin, "ejus commercio gentis abstineant"=they refrain from trade with that people.

26. *frendes marchaunte men*. Here=their friends who are merchantmen. The sense is not the same as 131. 28, as the context shews.

leise, i.e. lose, both here and in line 28. The more usual spelling is *leese*.

32. *to*, i.e. too.

P. 133, line 1. *in his lyfe, nor yet in his living*, i.e. he neither loses his life, nor his livelihood. *Lat.* "aut vita aut victu."

6. *rendered unto them in recompence of the injurie*, i.e. given

up to them in atonement for the injury. Cp. Shaks. *Antony and Cleopatra*, III. 10. 33, "To Cæsar will I *render* my legions and my horse."

8. *yelded*, i.e. when they are yielded and given up.

12. *avaunt themselves*, i.e. boast, pride themselves.

18. *cracke*, i.e. talk freely and proudly. Cp. Pilkington, *Works*, p. 245, "All glorying, *cracking*, rejoicing or boasting, that any man has of himself, is vain and wicked"; and immediately afterwards, "If thou have received it, why *crackest* thou on it, as though thou hadst not received it?" The noun *crack*=a boast, is also found. Cp. Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 194, "Out of this fountain proceed all these *cracks* and brags."

24. *passe*, i.e. outstrip, surpass. *Lat.* "vincunt"=conquer.

30. *aferde*, i.e. afeard, afraid. Cp. Shaks. *Tempest*, II. 2. 106, "I am Trinculo—be not *afeard*—thy good friend Trinculo."

32. *set forwarde*, i.e. promote, help on. Cp. Pilkington, *Works*, p. 661, "How popish apparel should edify or *set forward* the Gospel of Christ Jesus cannot be seen of the multitude."

P. 134, line 3. *denounced*, i.e. proclaimed.

11. *next unto the prince*, i.e. next after him, in the next degree to him.

prescribed, promised in the proclamation.

25. *enforce*, where we now say *force*, constrain. Cp. Shaks. *Two Gentlemen*, I. 2. 63, "Inward joy *enforced* my heart to smile." Cp. also 135. 13.

26. *they kepe no measure*, i.e. they set no limits to what they will give. We still say "beyond all measure," "out of measure," in a like sense.

28. *cal them*, i.e. invite or exhort them to go.

31. *landes of greate revenues*, i.e. estates which bring in a large income. *Lat.* "prædia magni reditus."

33. *covyne*=treachery, as above, 33. 10.

P. 135, line 1. *among other people*, i.e. is disallowed *by* other nations.

18. *bringinge...in hoope*, i.e. causing them to hope and expect to get the crown.

22. *sette in theire neckes*, i.e. set upon them. The *Lat.* has "committunt"=bring forward as competitors.

28. *so intierlye*, i.e. so thoroughly. *Lat.* has "tam unice"=so singularly, so extraordinarily.

31. *as who*, i.e. like men who, &c.

P. 136, line 5. *Zapoletes*. This word seems to be a pure invention and to have no Greek derivation. (ζὰ πόλεμος?)

10. *abhorrynge from*, i.e. never indulging in. *Lat.* "expers"= void of.

17. *wonders*, i.e. wondrously. See on 120. 9.

23. *whomewyth*, i.e. with whom. The preposition is attached to the pronoun, as in Latin we have *mecum*, *tecum*, *quibuscum*.

be in wayges, are hired to serve.

30. *thereawaye*, i.e. in that part of the world.

33. *used themselfes*, &c., i.e. behaved themselves. *Lat.* "familiarissime semet invicem utebantur."

P. 137, line 8. *for a halfepenye more wayges*. *Lat.* "unius accessione assis."

9. *taken a smacke*, i.e. gained a taste for.

10. *that*=that which.

16. *abuse*, i.e. put to hard uses, and so destroy.

23. *passe not*, i.e. regard not, care not. *Lat.* "pensi habent"= take into account.

26. *wordle*, a common metathesis for *worlde*.

fowle stinking denne. The *Lat.* has simply "colluvies"=dregs, rabble.

32. *conduction*, i.e. guidance, leading. The word is not common, but cp. Raleigh, *Hist. of the World*, I. 8. 12, "Hoab the son of Raguel the Midianite, who assisted the Israelites in their *conduction* through the wilderness of Pharan."

P. 138, line 3. *miscarrye*=be killed or lost. Cp. Shaks. *Merchant*, II. 8. 29, "There *miscarried* a vessel of our country."

4. *his rowme*, i.e. his room, his place.

18. *what...what*, i.e. partly...partly. Cp. *what by...what by*, 5. 20, 21.

26. *in set fylde*, i.e. in the battle array. *Lat.* "in acie."

29. *aliaunce*, i.e. kinsmen by marriage.

32. *dishonesty*, i.e. dishonour, disgrace.

P. 139, line 2. *sticke so harde by it*, &c., i.e. are so stubborn in their resistance that they cannot be overcome by the hired soldiers alone, and so the battle comes to the hands of the Utopians themselves.

5. *that maye be*, i.e. which are possible.

11. *at the first bront* (i.e. brunt), i.e. at the onset, "primo impetu."

14. *gyve back*, i.e. retreat. Cp. Shaks. *Two Gentlemen*, V. 4. 126, "*Give back*, or else embrace thy death."

20. *knowledge in chevalrye*, i.e. skill in military discipline.

21. *in a good hope*, i.e. that they will be victorious.

29. *lewde and fond love*, i.e. ignorant and foolish love.

30. *honestie*, i.e. honour.

P. 140, line 16. *rerewarde*, i.e. the rearguard, the hinder portion of the army. Cp. Lyly, *Euphues*, p. 335, "He that shrinketh from a bullet in the main battle, hath been stricken with a bill in the *rereward*." The derivation is from Fr. *arrière-garde*. For the change of *gu* into *w* cp. *guise* and *wise*, *guile* and *wile*, &c.

29. *spite of their tethes*. This phrase remains in colloquial English still. The fuller form is found in Shaks. *Merry Wives*, V. 5. 133, "In despite of the teeth of all rhyme and reason," i.e. in open defiance of.

P. 141, line 10. *geve backe*, i.e. retreat. *Lat.* "cedentes." Cp. 139. 14.

13. *aworke*, i.e. on work, to work. Cp. *aboard*.

17. *aventures*, i.e. adventures, approaches, surprises. *Lat.* "ad subitos casus"=for unforeseen chances.

26. *aloufe*, i.e. aloof, at a distance, for fighting far apart. *Lat.* "eminus."

28. *mortall*, i.e. likely to give a fatal blow (*Lat.* "letales") as well by their sharpness as from their weight.

29. *for foynes and downe strokes.* A *foin* is a thrust with the point of the weapon; a downstroke is a full sweeping blow. The Latin has "seu cæsim seu punctim feriant" = whether they strike with a cutting stroke or with the point. For *foin* cp. Shaks. *Lear*, IV. 6. 251, "No matter for your *foins*." Also the verb "to foin" is found Shaks. *Hen. IV.* pt. 2, II. I. 17, "He cares not what mischief he does if his weapon be out; he will *foin* like any devil."

30. *wonders*, i.e. wondrously.

P. 142, line 3. *handsome*, i.e. handy, convenient. *Lat.* "habiles." I have not found an example of the adjective in this sense, but the adverb occurs, Coverdale's *Works*, p. 209, "Then promised he them, and sought from thenceforth opportunity how he might deliver Jesus unto them *handsomely* and without any uproar."

13. *an espiall*, i.e. a spy. *Lat.* "speculator." For the English word cp. Bacon's *Hen. VII.* (Pitt Press Series), p. 106. 32, "Being grown a comely youth, he was brought by some of the *espials* of the lady Margaret into her presence."

26. *laye it upon theire neckes*, &c. The *Lat.* has "victis imputant," they charge to the conquered, and make them pay it.

30. *landes of greate revenues.* The *Lat.* here is "prædia non exigui census" = estates of no small income. Cp. 134. 31.

32. *rysinge of dyvers and sondry causes*, i.e. originating out of various causes. *Lat.* "variis ex causis nati."

P. 143, line 1. *ducates.* The "ducat" was so named because it was the coinage of the Italian *dukes*.

2. *as lieuetenauntes.* The English word is taken which most nearly represents the office described. Cp. Lords-*Lieutenant* of Ireland. The Latin is "quæstorum nomine" = with the title of quæstors.

13. *incontinent* = at once. The *Lat.* here is "illico."

P. 144, line 2. *incomprehensible.* This word signifies "that which cannot be grasped or measured, immeasurable, limitless." The *Lat.* is "immensus," and is the same word which is translated *incomprehensible*, in the (so-called) creed of St Athanasius. Older English versions of the creed render this word "without measure much."

8. *Neither they geve*, i.e. nor do they give.

14. *Mythra.* Mithras is said (Xen. *Cyr.* V. 5. 53) to be the name which the Persians give to the god of the Sun. More no doubt adopted the name to give an air of reality to his story, because he had said (118. 3) of the Utopians that their speech was not unlike the Persian tongue.

26. *as he was mynded*, i.e. at the time when he was intending.

P. 145, line 10. *the rightest Christian companies.* These words, with the marginal note, referring them to "Religious houses," probably express More's own feeling towards monastic life, if it were follow[ed] in such wise as to deserve the name of true Christian devotion. [We] know (Seebohm's *Oxford Reformers*, p. 146) that at one time M

himself thought of becoming a monk, but that Colet's advice turned him from the project.

16. *entered*, i.e. initiated. For this sense cp. Shaks. *Coriolanus*, I. 2. 2, "They of Rome are *entered* in our counsels."

26. *feare.* *Lat.* "absterrent"=frighten away. Cp. 150. 8.

28. *of our company*, i.e. of those Utopians who had been admitted to baptism, and so were of the Christian community. Raphael's story shews that it was deemed lawful for those to baptize who were not priests.

P. 146, line 14. *several partes*, i.e. different sides, and so, as there was no union, Utopus was able to conquer them.

31. *make for*, i.e. be to the interest of. *Lat.* "interesse."

P. 147, line 10. *of the own powre*, i.e. of its own power. *Lat.* "ipsa per se veri vis." Cp. 113. 29, note.

24. *runneth at al aventures*, is carried on at random without any presiding power. *at al aventures*=at all adventures, i.e. haphazard. The *Lat.* has "temere ferri"=to be borne along at random. For the phrase "at all adventures" cp. Webbe, *Discourse of English poetrie*, p. 43, "you may see by these few sentences which Sir Thomas Elyott gathered, as he sayth, *at all adventures.*" So Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 705, "We are born *at all adventure*, and we shall be hereafter as though we had never been."

29. *avaled*, i.e. cast down, degraded. *Lat.* "dejecerit." Cp. for the English word, 129. 28, note.

P. 148, line 5. *reject*, i.e. rejected. The *Lat.* has "nulli publico muneri præficitur"=he is set over no public charge.

7. *of all sortes*, i.e. by everybody, on every hand. *Lat.* "passim."

16. *dispute in his opinion*, i.e. argue in favour of his opinion. *Lat.* "pro sua disputet sententia."

and that onelye. Where we should say "Yet that only." The sense is that this prohibition of argument extends only to the common people. The next sentence shews that among the priests a man may hold disputations.

28. *For al they.* We should now say "for all these."

32. *carefullie and agaynst his will.* Carefully=full of care, and anxiety, grieved to depart. *Lat.* "anxie e vita invitumque divelli"=to be torn away from life with pain and unwillingly.

P. 149, line 2. *forefeiling*=fore feeling, anticipation. *Lat.* "quopiam imminentis pœnæ presagio"=by some sort of presage of the impending punishment.

12. *merely*, i.e. cheerfully and contentedly. *Lat.* "alacriter"= readily. Cp. below, line 21.

17. *bourne the bodies.* In this the Utopians are made to resemble the Persians. Cp. 123. 1, note.

P. 150, line 2. *presentlye conversaunt*, i.e. are present among. The *Lat.* has only "versari"=to frequent, to move among. Cp. line 7, "the present conversation," where the original has "præsentia"=the presence.

6. *affiaunce*, i.e. faith in. Cp. Pr. Bk. *Litany*, "evermore have *affiance* in Thee [illegible] ur and glory."

19. *with a sure hope and confidence.* This expression refers to the character of the intercessions and prayers. It is with sure hope and confidence that these are made for the procuring of some miraculous aid.

22. *the prayse thereof comminge*, i.e. the praise to which such a contemplation gives rise, the praises which men are impelled to give to God, from the contemplation of His power in the works of nature. *Lat.* "laudemque ab ea."

24. *they passe no thing for lerning*, i.e. they care nothing about it. The phrase has occurred several times before. Cp. 34. 22; 84. 31. The *Lat.* here is "negligunt" = they neglect. Cf. Fr. *se passer de*.

26. *of thinges*, i.e. of ordinary things, other than religion; the common business of life.

30. *turfes.* The form of this plural is *torves* in 21. 9.

P. 151, line 3. *fray*, i.e. frighten. *Lat.* "deterreat." We have the root still in "afraid," though the simple verb has been lost except in some dialects of English, while in others it appears as "flay." For the old word, cp. Shaks. *Troilus*, III. 2. 34, "As if she were *frayed* with a sprite."

6. *embraidinge*, i.e. upbraiding. Cp. 125. 24, note.

P. 152, line 1. *Buthrescas.* Perhaps formed after the analogy of βουλιμία, so that βου would be the intensifying prefix and the rest of the word from θρῆσκος = religious, so that "Buthrescas" would = very religious.

18. *religions*, i.e. religious rites. *Lat.* "religiones."

28. *they runne in verye great infamie.* The Latin is "summa percelluntur infamia" = they are stricken with very great disgrace.

31. *approve*, i.e. give proof of. *Lat.* "approbent." Cp. for the word Shaks. *All's Well*, III. 7. 13, "Which well *approves* you're great in fortune."

P. 153, line 10. *risinge of*, i.e. arising out of. *Lat.* "nascuntur" = are born of.

18. *commen*, i.e. common, in the sense of *public*.

P. 154, line 6. *meane vertues*, i.e. ordinary, moderate kind of virtues. *Lat.* "mediocribus virtutibus."

16. *in to the mayne battayle*, i.e. into the main throng of the fight. *Lat.* "in aciem" = among the lines.

27. *when theire owne army hathe reculed*, i.e. hath turned back, wavered. *Lat.* "inclinata suorum acie." We have the English word in the form "recoiled," still. It is from Fr. *reculer*, which accounts for the orthography in the text.

32. *indifferent conditions*, i.e. terms alike fair for both sides. Cp. Pilkington's *Works*, p. 493, "God's commission and commandment is like and *indifferent* to all, priest, bishop, archbishop, prelate, by what name soever he be called."

P. 155, line 10. *Lynemernes.* The Latin text has "Cynemernos." Probably the L for C is an error of the press.

28. *that*, i.e. that which. Cp. 23. 23; 77. 30.

indefferently, i.e. indifferently=equally well. Cp. Lever, *Sermons* (Arber), p. 47, "Ye do provide *indifferently* (i.e. with equal care) for every part of your natural body."

30. *anye several secte*, i.e. any separate or distinct sect.

P. 156, line 4. *Mithra.* Cp. 144. 14, note.

25. *overblowen*, i.e. dispersed and blown away. *Lat.* "discutitur."

P. 157, line 4. *goodman...goodwyfe.* Common words in old English for the heads of the family. *Goodman* has survived longer than the feminine term, because it has been preserved in the Auth. Vers. of the Bible. The *Lat.* has "paterfamilias" and "materfamilias."

6. *forsene.* Not in the modern sense of *foresee*=to see beforehand, but the word signifies "provision is made," "care is taken." Cp. Shaks. *Henry VIII.* v. 1. 49, "Who *foreseeing* [i.e. making provision against] those fell mischiefs our reasons laid before him, hath commanded, &c."

7. *abrode*, i.e. out of their homes. Cp. Lever, *Sermons*, p. 79, "Let not your wives and children, when they come *abrode*, be so bold openly as to say or do any things of themselves."

20. *this geare*, i.e. this matter, these acts. Cp. Shaks. *Hen. VI.* pt. 2, III. 1. 91, "I will remedy this *gear* ere long."

28. *chaungeable colours.* Here meaning "parti-coloured," "of many colours." The *Lat.* has "versicolores."

33. *countervaile*, i.e. to be equivalent to, to equal. *Lat.* "æquatura fuerit." Cp. Lyly, *Euphues*, p. 59, "What knoweth my father whether he be wealthy, whether his revenues be able to *countervail* my father's lands."

P. 158, line 7. *of theire behalfe*=on their behalf, on their part. *Lat.* "vicissim"=in their turn.

12. *the very fassion of the thinge*, i.e. the aspect, the sight of what is going on. *Lat.* "ipsa rei facies."

32. *expreslye pronounced.* The *Lat.* has here "conceptis verbis," i.e. in a set form of words, and perhaps this may be meant by Robynson's English, and "expressly pronounced"=uttered in express language.

P. 159, line 5. *namelye*, i.e. specially. *Lat.* "nominatim."

12. *as one*, i.e. as being one, as being a person ready to follow, &c.

23. *stande with*, i.e. accord with, be agreeable unto. Cp. *Formularies of Faith put forth by Hen. VIII.* p. xxxi, "It *standeth with* the very due order of charity, a Christian man to pray for souls departed."

30. *exercise of chevalrye*, i.e. the practice of military exercises.

P. 160, line 9. *severall*, i.e. separate. The *Lat.* has "nisi quid seorsum prospiciat sibi," i.e. unless he separately have forethought for himself.

17. *nyggyshe*, i.e. niggardly. *Lat.* "maligna." Cp. 102. 17.

26. *theire nephewes, theire childrens chyldren.* The *Lat.* here has "nepotum, pronepotum, abnepotum," and "nephew" is probably used in its early sense of "grandson," while "children's children"=future generations in the whole. For *nephew*=grandson, cp. 1 Tim. v. 4, "If any widow have children or *nephews*."

[illegible] Our usual English form is "take pains."

33. *I forsake God.* A form of oath=may I perish, for which the *Lat.* has "dispeream."

P. 161, line 9. *drawing and bearinge beastes*, i.e. beasts employed for drawing and bearing, beasts of burden. *Lat.* "jumenta."

skant, i.e. scarcely. Cp. Gascoigne, *Steel Glas*, p. 74:

> "Since all their toils and all their broken sleeps
> Shall *scant* suffice to hold it still upright."

15. *welthier*, i.e. in better condition, faring better.

19. *presently*, i.e. at the present moment. The word is set in opposition to the future old age, which is mentioned in the next sentence.

21. *kylleth them up.* We should rather now say, "killeth them *off*." The *Lat.* has simply "occidit"=killeth.

29. *maketh no gentle provision for*, i.e. taketh no kindly care about. *Lat.* "nihil benigne prospicit."

P. 162, line 4. *acquyteth.* We should say "requiteth." The *Lat.* has "repensat"=repayeth.

13. *way*, i.e. weigh, ponder on.

P. 163, line 2. *brabling.* This is the rendering of *Lat.* "jurgia"= quarrelling. Cp. Shaks. *Tit. And.* II. 1. 62, "This pretty *brabble* will undo us all." Shakespeare also uses *brabbler* for the name of a yelping dog, *Troilus* V. 1. 99.

4. *refrained*, in the active sense=reined in, checked. Cp. Shaks. *Hen. VI.* pt. 3, II. 2. 110, "Scarce can I *refrain* the execution of my big-swoln heart."

17. *that same worthye princesse, lady money.* The *Lat.* has "beata illa pecunia." For an example of giving a title to money, cp. the expression "Sir Penny."

19. *a Goddes name*, i.e. in God's name. The form is common in Shakespeare. Cp. *Taming of Shrew*, I. 2. 195; IV. 5. 1, &c. So also *a this fashion*=in this fashion, *All's Well*, II. 3. 265.

P. 164, line 4. *by her good will*, i.e. with her own consent.

9. *richesse.* This old form is from the French, and is of the singular number.

Thys hellhounde. The *Lat.* has "hæc Averni serpens"=this serpent of hell.

21. *jeopardie of domisticall dissention*, i.e. danger of disturbance at home. *Lat.* "nihil impendet periculi ne domestico dissidio laboretur."

32. *of no good reason.* We should now say "with no good reason." The *Lat.* has "perquam absurde"=extremely absurdly.

P. 165, line 10. *againste hys mynde*, i.e. contrary to his opinion.

11. *in other*, i.e. in other persons. For the reprehension of Raphael here alluded to, see p. 26. 20—24.

P. 166, line 1. This letter is placed in the Latin text, at the beginning of the work, immediately preceding the letter of "Thomas More to Peter Giles," of which we have the translation on pp. 10—[illegible]

Hierome Buslyde. Hieronymus Buslidius (or as the name is by Stapleton, *Tres Thomæ*, p. 208, Buslidianus) was one of th[illegible] moters of learning in the time of More. He founded a Co[illegible] Louvain (for teaching Hebrew, Greek and Latin, hence called T[illegible]

Collegium), and appended to the original edition of the Utopia is a letter of his addressed to Sir Thomas More, and sent from Malines in 1516. In this he praises highly the work of More, and greets him not only "as the glory of his own Britain, but of the world." More speaks of him with much regard in one of his letters to Erasmus, and mentions his home and his library as having afforded him great delight. (See Stapleton, *Tres Thomæ*, l. c.)

2. *provost of Arienn.* Arienn is the town of Aire on the river Lys. At the time of More's writing this was part of the Netherlands, on the frontiers of Flanders. It is now included in the N. E. portion of France. The provost (præpositus) was an ecclesiastical dignitary in the church of Arienn, which office Busleiden (so his name appears in French) held at the same time with canonries in the cathedrals of Brussels, Malines and Cambray; for then pluralities were not unlawful. The brother of Jerome Busleiden (i.e. François Busleiden) had been tutor to Philip, the father of Charles V., which may perhaps account for the position held by his brother. Jerome Busleiden died in 1517.

3. *kinge Charles.* Afterwards, on the death of the Emperor Maximilian in 1519 he became Emperor, with the title of Charles V. He succeeded to the crowns of Castile and Arragon, as well as to the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily and of the island of Sardinia, on the death of Ferdinand of Spain in the spring of 1516. He had previously been put in possession of the kingdom of the Netherlands by Maximilian, and to this his title in the text refers.

11. *Platoes commen wealthe*, i.e. the republic described by Plato in his treatise on the best form of polity.

14. *subiect*, in its original sense of "lying beneath," and so being clear to be seen.

19. *open*, i.e. explain. Cp. Pilkington, *Works*, p. 242, "Neither setting forth the majesty of God, nor edifying with comfortable promises the weak consciences, nor *opening* the mysteries of Scripture."

22. *presently*, i.e. while he was himself present. The *Lat.* here has "cominus" = at close quarters, close at hand.

26. *they.* So in the original text, but clearly a printer's error for *the.*

renowmed. A common form in older English, doubtless through the influence of the French *renommé.*

28. *viij.c.*, i.e. eight hundred.

29. *Vespuce*, i.e. Amerigo Vespucci, from whom the American continent is named. Cp. 20. 10.

P. 167, line 8. *presently*, i.e. in person. Cp. 166. 22.

9. *skante*, i.e. scant (*adv.*), scarcely. Cp. 161. 9.

25. *couched together.* The derivation of *couch* is from Lat. *collocare*, through the Fr. *coucher*, and so its primary sense is "to place side by side."

P. 168, line 4. *the al*... [illegible] ...f the original edition of the Utopia, the alph... [illegible] ...es, with lines drawn w... [illegible]
sents one lett... [illegible]

the same page are written out in this character the four lines printed on page 170, "*Utopos ha, &c.,*" and below them the Latin rendering which Robynson has put into English. The Latin is in the four following lines:

"Utopus me dux ex non insula fecit insulam.
Una ego terrarum omnium absque philosophia
Civitatem philosophicam expressi mortalibus.
Libenter impartio mea, non gravatim accipio meliora."

16. *more earnestly addict to heare*, i.e. more bent on hearing every thing than at other times, because Sir Thomas More's attention being for the moment withdrawn it behoved Peter Gyles to listen more carefully to all that Raphael said.

20. *stynte nor rest*. The *Lat.* has only one word, "conquiescam," but, as has been noticed before, it is quite in Robynson's manner to give double renderings of words. For *stint*=cease cp. Shaks. *Pericles*, IV. 4. 42, "Wherefore she does and swears she'll never *stint*, Make raging battery upon shores of flint."

24. *sublevation*. We now use "elevation."

28. *coulde not away with*, i.e. could not bear, walk along the way with. The *Lat.* has "non ferens"=not bearing. Cp. 15. 9.

P. 169, line 1. *cosmographers*, i.e. describers of the world. We now say *geographers*. Cp. infra, line 6.

2. *dissolved*, i.e. solved the question, explained it. Cp. Dan. v. 12, "Forasmuch as an excellent spirit and knowledge and understanding, interpreting of dreams, and shewing of hard sentences, and *dissolving* of doubts were found in the same Daniel." The word in this sense is rare.

8. *author*, i. e. authority, warrant.

22. *O liberall supporter of good learninge*. In allusion to Busleiden's foundation of the College at Louvain. The Latin text has "studiorum Mæcenas."

23. *well to fare*. We rather say "farewell." The older form shews the grammatical construction of the words "I bid (i.e. pray) you to fare well."

P. 170, line 15. *earst*, i. e. erst, in earliest times, formerly.

19. *nothinge daungerous*, i.e. in no wise unwilling, or making difficulties about. "Since I am not at all unwilling to impart my knowledge so, &c."

21. *A shorte meter*. The Latin text of these lines is given in the original edition on p. 11 thus:

"Utopia priscis dicta, ob infrequentiam,
Nunc civitatis æmula Platonicæ,
Fortasse victrix (nam quod ille literis
Delineavit, hoc ego una præstiti,
Viris et opibus, optimisque legibus)
Eutopia merito sum vocanda nomine."

24. *cleped*, i.e. called. The past part. "y-clept" remained long in the language.

25. *Voyde of haunte and herboroughe*, i. e. seldom visited by strangers and offering little to invite such.

26. *Platoes citie.* The imaginary one described in Plato's *Republic.* Utopia professes to be a realization of what the Greek philosopher only set forth on paper.

P. 171, line 2. *platte*, i. e. plot. Used of ground and so here of the imaginary site of Plato's perfect republic. Cp. the following line.

8. *Eutopie.* As if from εὖ=well and τόπος, a place. It should rather now be called "Place of felicity" than *Utopia*, i. e. "Nowhere."

9. *Gerarde Nouiomage.* The following twelve lines are a representation in English of six elegiac lines which in the original edition appear on the last page but one, thus:

"Dulcia lector amas? Sunt hic dulcissima quæque.
Utile si quæris, nil legis utilius.
Sive utrumque voles, utroque hæc insula abundat,
Quo linguam ornes, quo doceas animum.
Hic fontes aperit recti pravique disertus
Morus Londini gloria prima sui."

The Latin text may help the reader to the meaning of the English.

10. *the* (bis), i. e. thee.

14. *passinge*, i. e. surpassing, very great, excessive. Cp. Shaks. *Two Gentlemen*, II. 1. 81, "Her *passing* deformity."

21. *subject*, i. e. placed beneath so as to be easily seen. Cp. 166. 14.

24. *Cornelius Graphy.* The English represents six elegiac lines, which run thus, and are given below the preceding six:

"Vis nova monstra novo dudum nunc orbe reperto?
Vivendi varia vis ratione modos?
Vis qui virtutum fontes? vis unde malorum
Principia? et quantum rebus inane latet?
Hæc lege quæ vario Morus dedit ille colore
Morus Londinæ nobilitatis honos."

25. *the lande that late was founde*, i. e. the newly-discovered continent of America.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON P. 103. 24.

second intentions. On this expression cf. Thomson, *Laws of Thought*, p. 24. "Logic is said, in the language of the old authors, to be concerned only with *second notions* or *intentions*. Notions are of two kinds; they either have regard to things as they are, and are called *first* notions; or to things as they are understood, and in this respect are called *second* notions. The first intentions precede in order of time. Now Logic is not so much employed upon first notions of things as upon second, i. e. it is not so much occupied with things as they exist in nature, but with the way in which the mind conceives them. The first intention of every word is its real meaning, the second intention its logical value according to the function of thought to which it belongs." See also the notes in Thomson, p. 25.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

P. xli, line 1. *not to be acknowne.* This expression should rather be explained as the same phrase in More's History of King Richard III. (see notes p. 175, Pitt Press Ed.). It signifies that nothing in the oath should imply his cognizance of the disputed question. "To be aknowen" =to seem aware of a thing, to admit the knowledge of. Cf. the Examples given on the passage referred to.

P. 2, line 1. In the prologue to the third Bk. of Rabelais there is also a translation of this passage of Lucian, which like More's version is considerably expanded. As the first part of the *Utopia* was written in 1516, thirty years before the publication of Rabelais, if there be any indebtedness in the case, it seems most likely that More's work was known to Rabelais. This is the more probable, if, as some writers have suggested, More is intended by Rabelais' character of Thaumaste in Bk ii. chap. 19.

It may not be out of place to add here a passage from *A proper Dyalogue* (Arber's Reprint, p. 145), in which More seems certainly to be referred to.

"Even like unto the man which went
A certeyne strange ylonde to invent,
But when he sawe he could it not fynde,
Least his wit and travaile should seem in vayne
Reporte of other men he beganne to fayne
The symplicite of rude people to blynde."

P. 12, line 27. Bearing in mind how More draws his description of Utopia from England and of Amaurote from London, it may perhaps be that in the name of the capital, he has an allusion to London and English fogs. Paulus Jovius in his *Descriptiones* (ed. 1561), p. 29, speaks of the English climate as "crassa saepe obductum nebula," and admits that the "densatus aer" was an excuse which the natives alleged for eating and drinking so much, and he sets it down as a great cause of the sweating sickness which in old times was so fatal and so prevalent. On this disease, see Bacon, *Henry VII.* (Pitt Press Series), p. 12, line 10. and notes.

P. 20, line 18. *in the countrey of Gulike.* Mr Lupton's kindness has supplied me with the following, which throws light on "in Castello" and the rendering of Robinson.

Burnet renders "in Castello" "in New Castile," as if More had meant some district, say on the Malabar coast, called by the discoverers after one of the Castiles in Spain, the name of which is sometimes given as *Castilia*, sometimes as *Castellum*.

The clue to Robinson's *Gulikianes* appears to be that, understanding *Castellum* only of the town in Gallia Belgica so called, which was seemingly identified by some with *Juliacum*, he called the Juliacans, Gulikians (with the G soft).

In the Appendix of proper names to Cooper's *Thesaurus* 1584, *Castellum* is given as the name of a country called Juliers or *Gulike*. This appears conclusive for what has been above suggested.

In Smith's *Geograph. Dictionary* Juliacum (Juliers or Jülich) is given as 18 leagues from Cologne. The form Jülich perhaps explains *Gulike*, and Cooper is authority for identifying *Gulike* with *Castellum*.

P. 22, line 33. For an example of *commodious* in this sense, cf. Acts xxvii. 12, "Because the haven was not *commodious* to winter in."

P. 29, line 17. *recourse* in this sentence is the Lat. "recursus" = recurrence; though More has not this word but *vices* in his Latin text.

P. 36, line 16. It may be that *than* and *then* are originally the same word. Cf. "I would rather have this *than* that," which signifies, "I would choose this first, but if it may not be so, *then* that."

P. 38, line 16. For the word *danger* see an article by Herbert Coleridge in Vol. 1 of *Macmillan's Magazine*, pp. 347, &c.

P. 44, line 27. *Sad* is still used in the North of England of bread which does not rise properly, and so when baked is solid and hard.

P. 73, line 21. In illustration of what has been said in the Introduction (sig. x.) about More having London in his mind as he wrote of Amaurote, cf. Paulus Jovius *Descriptiones* (ed. 1561), p. 24, where speaking of the Thames and London he says "Jungitur ad urbem lapideo ponte structura mirifici urbis," words which bring More's Latin at once to mind.

P. 77, line 30. *appresse.* It may be that *appresse* = press, as *apply* below, p. 79. 26 is for *ply*, and so *appair* is used for *pair*, and *appose* = *pose* in the sense of "to put questions."

P. 80, line 8. *at.* It may be that this word is correct and needs no change. The sense may be: "At the first hour after noon, marked by the sun-dial or clock, they reckon the point then marked as one of the clock."

P. 82, line 1. With *rush-bucklers* may be compared *swash-bucklers* = braggarts; *swash* being used of boasting without any real bravery. Cf. Hazlitt's Dodsley VI. 254, *The Three Ladies of London*, where Fraud enters with a sword and a *buckler* like a ruffian, saying

"Ill flaunt it and brave it after the lusty *swash*."

P. 103, line 22. *small logicalles.* More speaks of the *Parva Logicalia* in his letter to Martinus Dorpius, often printed with Erasmus' *Moriæ Encomium*, and he gives these works no praise. "Liber ille parvorum logicalium quem ideo sic appellatum puto quod

parum habet Logices." And he continues in reference to the "suppositiones" here alluded to: "operæ pretium est videre in suppositionibus, quas vocant,...quam ineptas, quam etiam falsas præceptiunculas [ille liber] habet."

The *Parva Logicalia* are also frequently mentioned in the *Epistolæ obscurorum virorum*. See *ed. Teubner*, p. 47, 301, 352.

P. 109, line 19. To the examples of dis=un, may be added "The voice of the Lord discovereth the thick bushes," Ps. xxix. 8 (Pr.-Bk. vers.).

P. 119, line 29. It may be that *rides*=reeds, is a form resulting from a French pronunciation of the vowel i. The same use would account for *estimer*=esteemer 97. 6; *frie*=free 88. 28, &c.

P. 133, line 1. It is worth while noticing that More not only anticipated the modern notions about cremation, but also the modern practice of giving to criminals released from gaol a ticket-of-leave. See Bk. I, p. 40 seqq.

P. 134, line 28. We may illustrate this use of *call* from the exhortation to god-parents in the Baptismal service "Ye shall *call* upon him to hear sermons."

P. 157, line 32. *fethers of foules*. It may be that this dress for the priests, setting forth "divers divine mysteries" was suggested in Plato's *Timæus*. There it is said (Jowett's Translation II. 502), "The race of birds was created out of innocent light-minded men, who thought to pursue the study of the heavens by sight: these were therefore transformed into birds, and grew feathers instead of hair."

P. 170, line 6. The verses in the barbarous language were written by Peter Giles. See his letter to Buslidius p. 227a of the *Vita et Obitus Thomæ Mori e Thomæ Stapletoni tribus Thomis*. Frankfort, 1689.

P. 171, line 9. *Gerarde Noviomage*. This is in all probability meant for Gerard Listrius, the friend of Erasmus and the writer of the notes to his *Moriæ Encomium*. He is there called Rhenensis, but if he were of Noviomage (i.e. Nimeguen) this name of Rhenensis would be very applicable. It is noticeable that Listrius addresses his introductory letter, with his notes, to Johannes Paludanus, public orator of the University of Louvain, and thus suggests his own connexion with the Low Countries.

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a (prep.)=on, a shipborde, 118, 13: 168, 18
a (adj.), one, both a matter, 37, 31
a beggynge (gerund.)=on begging, to beg, 35, 6
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gieves (n.), gyves, fetters, 98, 18: 101, 13
gile (n.), guile, deceit, 56, 25: 132, 19
gives (n.), gyves, fetters, 41, 1
godlye (adv.), in a godly manner, 121, 20
goodman (n.), the master of a house, 157, 4
good many, a considerable number, 59, 12
goodwyfe (n.), the mistress of a house, 157, 5
gonneshotte (n.), gunshot, 15, 24
gorgious (adj.), gorgeous, 119, 6: 155, 13
gorgiouslye (adv.), gorgeously, magnificently, splendidly, 164, 8
gramercye (n.), a mere expression of thanks, a thank you, 121, 16
greffes (n.), griefs, sorrows, 115, 7
greif (n.), grief, pain, 112, 24
grislie (adj.), terrible, harsh, 46, 3
guise (n.), fashion, manner, 97, 4
gyaunte (n.), giant, 103, 27
gyell, guile, deceit, 107, 23

habilitie, *hability*, *habilitye* (n.), ability, 3, 9: 6, 28: 24, 12: 25, 29
hable (adj.), able, 7, 11, 24: 24, 8: 29, 15, 26: 30, 2 et passim
handicrafe (n.), handicraft, 35, 13
handsome (adj.), suitable, well adapted, 141, 22: 142, 3
handy (adj.), belonging to handicraft, work of the hands, 83, 15
hapte (part.), wrapped up, protected, 85, 5
harde, *hard* (pret.), heard, 5, 3: 10, 11: 11, 9: 65, 4: 145, 8
harken (vb.), to hearken, 66, 14
harmlesse (adj.), experiencing no harm, 21, 15
harneis, *harneys*, *harnes* (n.), armour, 2, 8: 141, 16, 20, 25
harte (n.), heart, 100, 12
hartelye (adv.), heartily, 12, 33
hartie (adj.), hearty, 130, 26

hasarde (n.), hazard, peril, danger, 44, 3
haute, hawte (adj.), haughty, proud, 63, 9 : 126, 14
haylsed (part.), hailed, saluted, greeted, 21, 5
healpe (n.), help, benefit, succour, assistance, 63, 26 : 150, 15
heare (adv.), here, 103, 10, 22
heare, hearre (n.), hair, 15, 26 : 109, 33
hedlonges (adv.), headlong, 59, 32
heerse (n.), hearse, funeral car, 149, 14
heighly (adv.), highly, 43, 33
heire (n.), an heir, 83, 29
hell-hounde (n.), hell-hound, infernal monster, 164, 9
herboroughe (n.), harbour, sheltering-place, protection, 170, 25
herin (adv.), herein, 10, 22
hether (adv.), hither, 2, 18
hetherto (adv.), hitherto, 64, 32
heyghe (adj.), high, important, 50, 22
heynous (adj.), heinous, hateful, 39, 29
heyre (n.), an heir, 30, 2
hieghe (adj.), high, 13, 31
hiere (vb.), to hire, to engage by pay, 49, 28 : 96, 20 : 136, 3
hiered (part.), hired, 31, 1 : 136, 32
hierethe (vb.), hireth, 41, 23
holly, hollye (adj.), holy, sacred, 153, 22 : 155, 5 : 156, 12, 16 bis
holpen (part.), helped, 96, 18
holsome (adj.), wholesome, 4, 24 : 21, 26 : 23, 16
holsomely (adv.), wholesomely, 128, 6
homely, homelye, ordinary, common-place, common, 15, 4 : 84, 23 : 136, 11
homely, homly (adv.), in a homely, simple fashion, 19, 12 : 84, 20
honestie, honestye (n.), honesty, respectability, credit, 18, 20 : 90, 13
hoopinge (part.), hoping, expecting, 151, 16
hoppest (vb.), hopest, 110, 28
hording (part.), making a hoard, storing up, 57, 2
hote (adj.), hot, excited, 145, 32
houses (n.), households, retinue, servants, 35, 5
humanitye (n.), culture, polished manners, 68, 28
hundreth (numeral adj.), a hundred, 12, 30
hurlei-burley, confused tumult, disturbance, 52, 7
husbande (vb.), to cultivate, till, 116, 24
husbandes (n.), husbandmen, cultivators, 69, 33
husbanding (part.), cultivating, tilling, 75, 7
husbandrye (n.), husbandry, farm-labour, 29, 7
hyghelye (adv.), highly, greatly, 125, 31

ilande (n.), island, 87, 27
imbasyng (n.), debasing, lessening the value (of coins), 52, 27 marg.
imbrayde (vb.), to upbraid, reproach, 125, 24
importune (adj.), importunate, 20, 15
improve (vb.), to cavil over and try to alter, 47, 28
impudency (n.), impudence, 27, 27
incommodious (adj.), difficult, inconvenient, 41, 8
incommoditie (n.), disadvantage, 34, 27 : 107, 16 : 124, 20 : 132, 33
incontinent, incontinente (adv.), immediately, at once, without delay, 29, 33 : 36, 25 : 47, 29 : 95, 7 : 113, 28 : 117, 18 et passim
indefferently (adv.), equally, all alike, 155, 28
indifferent (adj.), fair, equitable, 45, 4 : 97, 6 ; 154, 32
indifferent (adv.), moderately, decently, 41, 9
infamed (part.), disgraced, brougl

into ill repute, 98, 20: 99, 22: 100, 10
ingrosse (vb.), to get a thing all into one's own hands, 35, 29
inhabited withe, i. e. inhabited by, 21, 33
inherytoure (n.), inheritor, lawful heir, 50, 19
inrodes (n.), inroads, raids, 131, 25
instructe (part.), instructed, trained, 78, 15: 124, 26
instrumentes (n.), legal documents, 96, 4
intierely (adv.), entirely, completely, 135, 28
into (prep.), among, 69, 5
intreate (vb.), to treat upon, to describe, 23, 22
intretaunce (n.), entreaty, request, 20, 14
inured, *inurede* (part.), used to, trained, disciplined, 31, 24: 51, 18: 119, 15
invehing (n.), fault-finding, blaming, 146, 22

javel (n.), a name indicative of contempt, equivalent to good-for-nothing, 46, 17
jeoperdie, *jeoperdye* (n.), jeopardy, peril, danger, 26, 21: 29, 13: 39, 6, 17
jeoperdous (adj.), perilous, dangerous, 68, 2
jette (vb.), strut, walk pompously, 30, 16
jonketes (n.), cream-cheeses, cheese-cakes, delicacies (generally), 92, 30
jorneyeye (n.) (perhaps a mistake for *jorneye*), a journey, 69, 19

kendle (vb.), to set on fire, to raise into a flame, 106, 6
knowen (part.), known, 23, 5: 33, 19: 39, 13: 42, 7: 64, 16 et passim
knowelede [illegible] dge 120, 7
knowledge, *knowledgethe* (vb.), to acknowledge, 72, 22: 159, 2
kyeles (n.), keels, 22, 19
kynsefolke (n.), kinsfolk, 136, 32

laborsome, *laboursome* (adj.), laborious, arduous, 32, 3: 65, 2: 79, 10
lacke (vb.), to do without, to dispense with, 97, 21
laundes (n.), lawns, 33, 3
lavasse (adj.), lavish, excessive, 29, 25
lawier (n.), lawyer, 30, 29: 36, 17: 127, 13
laye man (n.), a layman, one not in holy orders, 28, 11
least (conj.), lest, 153, 33
leaste wyse (adv.), at the leaste wyse = at all events, at any rate, 22, 1
leasure (n.), leisure, 11, 1, 13
leese (vb.), to lose, 45, 24: 55, 25: 110, 24 bis
legue (n.), a league, a treaty, 49, 21
leise (vb.), to lose, 132, 26, 28
lesing (part.), losing, 162, 19
let (n.), hindrance, 37, 6: 73, 26: 91, 4: 93, 21, 28 et passim
let (vb.), *letting* (part.), to hinder, hindering, 107, 30: 108, 20: 164, 1
lether (n.), leather, 22. 18: 95, 22
letted (part.), hindered, prevented, 112, 23: 138, 25
lettes, *lette* (n.), hindrances, an obstacle, 11, 15: 125, 9, 10
leude, *lewde* (adj.), untrained, misguided, perverse, 27, 4: 112, 8: 139, 29
licouresse (n.), liquorice, 71, 24
lien (part.), lain, 158, 14
lieng (part.), lying, situated (of places), 134, 31
liffe (n.), life, 85, 24
lightelye, *lightlie* (adv.), easily, without much trouble, 75, 9: 76, 30
likelyhoode (n.), likelihood, probability, 43, 27

litell (adj.) (used of time), a litell =a short time, 29, 12
litle, lytle (adj.), little, 21, 12 bis: 22, 4 bis: 52, 31
lode stone (n.), the magnet, 22, 24
logicalles (n.), treatises on logic, 103, 22
loked (part.), looked, attended, 8, 26
lothesome (adj.), loathsome, 21, 31
lothsomenes (n.), loathsomeness, 151, 3
lowtinge (part.), bowing low in mockery, 15, 22
lubbor (n.), a lubber, a lout, a babyish fellow, 100, 33
lust, luste (vb.), to like, to desire, 34, 17 bis, 18: 124, 1
lustye (adj.), lusty, strong, 24, 20
lyffe (n.), life, 119, 18
lyghtely (adv.), causelessly, without good reason, 143, 15
lymme (n.), limb, 125, 22
lytyl (adj.), little, 52, 30

madder (n.), an herb used in dyeing, 95, 22
maintenaunce (n.), in the expression "cap of maintenance," a part of the regalia, or royal insignia borne before a prince, 126, 21
maisters (n.), in the expression "shepe-maisters"=owners and breeders of sheep, 33, 5, marg.
maistry (n.), mastery, superiority, 31, 25
majesti (n.), majesty, 156, 6
make to (*to*) (vb.), to help unto, to be concerned with, to have to do with, 113, 13
maner (n.), mode of action, 43, 4
manfullye (adv.), manfully, with all boldness, 30, 5
mansleiers (n.), man-slayers, murderers, 31, 10
Maregrave (n.), Margrave, a foreign title, 18, 2
margent (n.), margin or edge of a page, 168, 5
marmoset (n.), a kind of small monkey, also called a *marmot*, 118, 13
marrish (n.), marsh, quagmire, 123, 2
marvailous (adj.), marvellous, wonderful, 91, 16
mayne (adj.), main, middle, central part, 154, 16
mayste (vb.), mayest, 106, 31
maystershyppe, maistershippe (n.), a title of respect like "your worship," 6, 2, 19
meane (adj.), moderate, middling, 27, 19: 95, 26: 154, 6
meane (adj.), middle, intervening, that which lies between, 151, 17
meanesse (n.), meanness, limited extent, moderate capacity, 7, 15: 8, 33
meate (adj.), meet, fit, 43, 1
meathe (n.), mead, a drink made of wine and honey, called sometimes *hydromel* and *metheglin*, 71, 24
meatynge (n.), meeting, 37, 3
medle (vb.), to meddle, to interfere with, 50, 27: 61, 9
meese (n.), mess, a dining party, 91, 24
ment, mente (pret.), meant, intended, 8, 30: 58, 1
mere (adj.), pure, simple, 21, 19
merely (adv.), merrily, 149, 12
meri (adj.), merry, happy, 149, 21
me self (pron.), me selfe, myself, 3, 19: 5, 6: 96, 33
mete (adj.), fit, suitable, 88, 25
meter (n.), metre, rhyme, poem, 168, 1; 170, 1
mienes (n.), mines, 39, 31
mo, moe (adj.), more, 104, 26: 129, 14
moneth, monethes (n.), month, months, 10, 5: 12, 3: 19, 4: 27, 9: 72, 2 et passim

monsters (n.), prodigies, and accounts of such matters, 23, 11
morrein (n.), murrain, a plague among cattle, 34, 11
moste (adj.), greatest, severest, 123, 15
moughteaten, *moughte-eaten*, moth-eaten, 15, 5 : 53, 7
moyles (n.), mules, 51, 33
mulettour (n.), muleteer, mule driver, 51, 33
myddes (n.), the midst, the middle part, 88, 1 : 91, 19
mynded (part.), inclined, 19, 17 : 85, 18

namely, *namelye* (adv.), especially, most worthy to be mentioned, 80, 18 : 159, 5
neade (vb.), to need, to be in want, 56, 22 : 83, 26
neade (n.), need, necessity, 54, 33 : 88, 6
neades, *nedes* (adv.), of necessity, necessarily, 59, 17 : 139, 8 : 165, 22
neiboures (n.), neighbours, 127, 32
neighe-hand (adv.), close by, near to one, 90, 16
nemblenes (n.), nimbleness, 115, 11
newefanglenes (n.), new-fangledness, novelty, 35, 16
next, *nexte* (adj.), nearest, readiest, 86, 29 : 123, 28
niegher (adj.), nearer, 10, 18, 19
nigeshe (adj.), niggardly, pinching, 102, 17
nighest (adj.), nearest, readiest, 24, 29
nippe (n.), a taunt, or rebuke, 40, 26, marg.
nipping (adj.), keen, severe, pinching, 103, 21, marg.
nought, *noughte* (adj.), worthless, evil, 29, 8 : 60, 3
nought, *a thing of*, a worthless matter, 33, 23
noughtie, *noughty* (adj.), wicked, 35, 21 : 58, 29
noughtines, *noughtynes* (n.), wickedness, iniquity, 49, 7 : 102, 2
nource (n.), a nurse, 91, 2, 5, 10
nourceis, *nurceis* (n.), nurses, 90, 28 : 91, 11
noyous (adj.), hurtful, injurious, 32, 13
noysome (adj.), hurtful, destructive, 22, 2
nurcerie (n.), a nursery, 90, 28
nyggyshe (adj.), niggardly, mean, pinching, 160, 17
nyse (adj.), fastidious, dainty, 85, 2

occasion (n.), opportunity, 60, 33
occupie, *occupye* (vb.), to use, to employ, 29, 15 : 79, 22 : 97, 11 : 110, 22 : 136, 10 : 143, 8
occupieng (n.), treatment, usage, employment, 86, 4 : 165, 3
occupieng (n.), business, occupation, trade-intercourse, 57, 13 : 132, 21
occupiyng (part.), trading, trafficking, use, employment, 21, 15 : 22, 8 : 33, 32 : 110, 19
odde (adj.), different, contrary, 8, 15
of (prep.) = out of, from, 40, 29
of (prep.) = by, 2, 7 : 31, 11 : 70, 17 : 92, 13 et passim
of (adv.), off, 154, 11
office (n.), duty, service, 51, 25
of purpose (adv.), on purpose, purposely, 129, 16
on (num. adj.), one, 33, 5
onelesse, *oneles* (conj.), unless, 11, 26 : 12, 28 : 14, 12 : 46, 5 : 68, 11 et passim
onelye, *onelie* (adv.), only, 7, 6 : 14, 2 : 15, 7, 8 : 46, 12 : 50, 24 et passim
ones (adv.), once, 5, 3, 18 : 12, 11 : 39, 12 : 86, 18, et passim
onles, *onlesse* (adv.), unless, 43, 8 :

59, 11 : 62, 32 : 63, 27 : 131, 20 : 133, 5
ons (adj.), ones, 73, 8
onwardnes (n.), advancement, progress, 113, 23
on worke, to work, 2, 14
open (adj.), free, in public, accessible, 97, 25
opener (n.), a revealer, or discloser, 43, 23
ordure (n.), filth, dirt, 88, 24
other (adj.), others, other people, 29, 22 : 40, 13 : 83, 4, 25 : 107, 3
otherwayes (adv.), otherwise, 60, 20
over (adj.), upper, higher, 91, 22
overblowen (part.), blown away, driven past, 156, 25
overlyvinge (part.), living beyond, living past the time of, 122, 12
overrunned (part.), overrun, 31, 19
oversene (part.), neglected, passed over without notice, 78, 4
overthrowen (part.), overthrown, 26, 21
overthwarte, *overwharte* (adj.), cross, ill-tempered, (*of position*) crosswise, 27, 4 : 91, 22
owne (adj.), peculiar, special, 113, 29

paiement (n.), payment, 96, 6
pale (n.), palisade, fence, 33, 8
parasite (n.), hanger-on, dependent, 44, 30
parcel (n.), part, portion, 47, 25
parcial (adj.), unfair, unjust, 27, 3 marg.
pardy (interj.), *par Dieu*, assuredly, 33, 26
partein (vb.), to appertain, to belong, 44, 28
parteners (n.), partners, sharers, 95, 1
paseis (n.), paces, footsteps, 12, 30, 31, 33
passe (vb.), to be untried, unattempted, neglected, 122, 4
passe for (*to*) (vb.), to regard, 84, 31 : 128, 28 : 137, 23 : 150, 24
passethe for (vb.), careth for, attendeth to, 34, 22
passing (adj.), preeminent, excellent, 171, 14
patient (vb.), to keep quiet, 46, 21
peineful (adj.), painful, 122, 15
penny-fathers (n.), niggards, churls, 102, 18
pensifnes (n.), pensiveness, anxious thought, 139, 17 : 160, 21
pensions (n.), payments, salaries, rewards, 50, 5
penuri (n.), penury, poverty, 163, 17
perceave (vb.), to perceive, notice, 92, 3
perelesse (adj.), unequalled, incomparable, 17, 3
perfet, *perfitte* (adj.), perfect, 25, 24 : 105, 31
perforce (adv.), constrainedly, whether one will or not, 55, 1
perfourmed (part.), performed, done, 95, 7
perishe (vb.), destroy, cause to perish, 76, 1
persever (vb.), to persevere, 4, 13
perteneth (vb.), pertaineth, belongeth, 92, 13
pestiferous (adj.), fatal, deadly, 34, 10
pestilenet (adj.), perhaps merely a misprint for *pestilent*, 31, 13
philarche (n.), a governor over thirty families in Utopia, a ruler of a tribe, 70, 13 : 72, 4
phisick (adj.) (of books), relating to medicine, 118, 25
phisitian, *phisition* (n.), a physician, 56, 7 : 89, 25 and 30
phrensie (n.), frenzy, madness, 109, 24
pieers, *pieres* (n.), peers, noblemen, 25, 4 : 50, 5, 17
pike a thanke (vb.), to curry favour, to gain influence, 54, 3
pitthe (n.), deep meaning, subtle drift, 167, 24

pitthely (adv.), pithily, cleverly, wittily, 166, 31
pitthie (adj.), wise, clever, 7, 25
plage (n.), a plague, nuisance, 30, 33 : 33, 6 : 87, 23
plaied (part.), played, 133, 18
plaiers (n.), a player, one who plays a game, 8, 9
platte (adj.), plain, 75, 15
platte (n.), a plan, fashion, design, 171, 2
platted (part.), planned, arranged, 171, 3
playn (adj.), in a simple manner, 22, 15
pliaunte (adj.), pliant, easily bent, 153, 5
plotte (n.) (of ground), a plot or situation, or parcel, 69, 15 : 84, 9
policye (n.), policy, government of a state, 23, 8 : 71, 3
pollaxes (n.), pole-axes, 141, 28
polle (vb.), to cut close, to deal hardly with, 29, 23
pollinge (part.), cutting down, cutting close, dealing hardly with any one, 55, 28
poste haste (adv.), post-haste, 7, 22
praies (n.), preys, plunderings, 131, 26
praing (part.), praying, 154, 13
praye (n.), prey, booty, 142, 24
preese (vb.), to press, to hasten, 141, 10
preferre (vb.), to prefer, to advance (to an office), 17, 11
preparaunce (n.), preparation, 52, 5
prescript, prescripte (part.), prescribed, appointed, definite, 57, 15 : 63, 7
presently, presentlye (adv.), in very presence, in actual sight, 64, 13 : 97, 1 : 113, 6 : 150, 2 : 166, 22 : 167, 8
pretely (adv.), elegantly, neatly, 31, 11
pretended (part.), put forward, alleged, 85, 18
pretensed (part.), proposed, intended, 8, 14
prety (adj.), pretty, *in the sense of* considerable, large, 118, 8
prevelie (adv.), privily, secretly, 43, 8
prevent (vb.), to get the start of, to anticipate, 14, 19
prevy (adj.), secret, private, 47, 18
preystes (n.), priests, 81, 29
pricked (part.), urged, driven, 41, 4
primifeste (n.), first feast, 155, 11
pristinate (adj.), original, pristine, 113, 27
procedyng (n.), an advance, progress, 113, 22
procreation (n.), begetting, 151, 22
procure (vb.), to arrange, take care, contrive, 98, 24
profe, proffe (n.), proof, testing, 36, 25 : 44, 8, 12, 16 : 92, 21 : 95, 19 : 105, 14
profeit (n.), profit, 14, 31
profounde (adj.), deeply skilled, 20, 1
profettes (n.), profits, advantages, 171, 14
proper (adj.), belonging, 32, 17 : 62, 4
prophane (adj.), profane, 146, 1
propriety (n.), proprietorship, private ownership, 62, 32
prosequute (vb.), to prosecute, take vengeance for, 132, 17 : 133, 32
provost (n.), chief magistrate, 18, 4
pryestes (n.), priests, 122, 24, 32
puisaunce, puissaunce (n.), power, might, puissance, 30, 23 : 81, 12 : 132, 8
puissaunte (adj.), puissant, mighty, powerful, 49, 30
pulleyne (n.), chickens, 71, 2
puppettes (n.), dolls, 99, 9
pursute (n.), pursuit, following, 140, 13
pylled (part.), plundered, ravaged, 51, 14

pytthye (adj.), pithy, witty, 27, 30

quayled (part.), enfeebled, made weak, 6, 16
queines (n.), queans, disorderly women, 35, 18
quicke (adj.), those who are alive, 150, 3
quicke (n.), the sensitive part, the tender place, 29, 23 : 46, 13
quite (adj.), quit, rid of anything, 38, 16 : 40, 18
quod (vb.), quoth, saith, 19, 21 : 21, 29 : 24, 14 : 25, 8, 27 et passim

rampiere (vb.), to make ramparts or fortifications, 2, 9
rancke (adj.), thick, many in number, 28, 20
ravin, *ravine* (n.), rapine, plunder, spoliation, 63, 14
receave (vb.), to receive, 155, 16
receivoure (n.), receiver, 42, 2
reculed (part.), recoiled, retreated, gone back, 154, 27
red (part.), read, perused, 64, 29
redinge (part.), reading, 92, 13
reedifie (vb.), to build up again, 35, 27
reentre (vb.), to reenter, come in again, 152, 9
refrayne (vb.), to check, 28, 26
reisyng (part.), advancing, increasing, 29, 23
riese (vb.), to rise, 167, 23
rejoysinges (n.), rejoicings, 115, 20
relyefe (n.), relief, 161, 24
renninge (adj.), running, flowing, 88, 24
renowme (n.), renown, fame, 126, 9 : 170, 14
renowmed (part.), renowned, famous, 166, 26
repete (vb.), to repeat, 23, 25
reprived (part.), reprieved, 44, 14
reprochful (adj.), reproachful, a subject of reproach, 99, 22 : 100, 24
resideu, *residewe*, *resydewe* (n.), remainder, what is left, 42, 28 : 61, 26 : 72, 22 : 83, 20
retainour (n.), a domestic servant, 24, 27
retche (n.), reach, comprehension, grasp, 144, 3
revenewes (n.), revenues, income, 41, 16
reyse (vb.), to raise, stir up, excite, 135, 20
ribaulde, *ribbalde* (n.), a riotous scoundrel, a rascally fellow, 46, 17 : 47, 2
richesse (n.), riches, wealth, 25, 9 : 164, 9
roial (adj.), royal, 17, 3 : 126, 20
roted (part.), rooted, implanted, 164, 11
rotes (n.), roots, 163, 1
rowme (n.), position, place, room, 4, 2 : 86, 14
royalme (n.), realm, kingdom, 31, 1
run at rovers (vb.), to go wildly astray, 129, 33
rune (vb.), to run, 154, 2
russhe bucklers (n.), boastful good-for-nothings, 82, 1
rydde (adj.), got out of the way, 39, 14
ryffe (adj.), rife, numerous, plentiful, 28, 20

sad, *sadde* (adj.), sorrowful, producing sorrow, 44, 27 : 92, 17
saffe (adj.), safe, secure, 61, 16
saintuaries (n.), sanctuaries, 44, 12
sauffe (adj.), safe, secure, 6, 3 : 15, 23 : 55, 10 : 137, 33
savegarde (n.), safeguard, 42, 32 : 54, 28 : 154, 19
savyng (adv.), except, 20, 12
scaselie, *scasely*, *scaselye* (adv.), scarcely, hardly, 82, 30 : 129, 11 : 153, 25
scoupe (n.), scope, licence, liberty, 38, 30
see to (*to*), (vb.), to attend, care for, 122, 3

seing (part.), seeing, beholding, 3, 2, 11
seke, be to (vb.), to be unprepared, 131, 10
seldome (adv.), seldom, 90, 2
seli, selie, selye, seelye (adj.), silly, innocent, 15, 11 : 33, 14 : 50, 24 : 111, 16 : 111, 28
semblable (adj.), like, similar, 3, 7
sene (part.), seen, beheld, observed, 166, 30
sene (*to be well*) (vb.), to be instructed, 7, 11 : 10, 16 : 120, 7
set by (*to be*) (vb.), to be esteemed, highly thought of, 115, 1
sethinge (part.), boiling, 90, 20
several, severall (adj.), separate, special, 24, 2 : 59, 28 : 78, 22 : 89, 5 : 90, 3 : 91, 17 : 146, 14 : 155, 30
severall (adv.), separately, 88, 4 : 90, 29
sewer (adj.), sure, 88, 12 : 163, 21
sewerly (adv.), surely, certainly, 55, 29 : 141, 11
sewters (n.), suitors, supplicators, 27, 24
seynge (part.), seeing, 113, 9
shaked (pret.), shook, 44, 4
shamefastenesse (n.), shamefacedness, modesty, 99, 7
sheathes (n.), sheaths, 100, 14
sheffe (n.), sheaf, bundle of corn, 126, 21
shepehouse (n.), sheephouse, sheepcote, 33, 1
shepemasters (n.), sheepowners, 34, 12
shiere townes (n.), county or shire towns, 69, 11
shift (n.), contrivance, 20, 14
shiltreth (vb.), sheltereth, protecteth, 67, 22
shoulde, shuld=should, 10, 13, 20 : 11, 3
shrewedly (adv.), rudely, roughly, 132, 9
sickerlye (adv.), securely, unmolestedly, 60, 18
simulation (n.), pretence of what is not, 18, 28
single (adj.), simple, 39, 18
siphograuntes, syphograunte (n.), a magistrate over thirty families, 76, 14 : 77, 8, 21 : 79, 25 : 82, 33 : 83, 7 : 89, 6 et passim
siphograuntie, syphograuntie (n.), the district or ward ruled over by a siphograunte, 90, 5 : 91, 25
skant (adj.), scarce, few in number, 95, 6 : (adv.), scarcely, 161, 9 : 167, 9
skape (vb.), to escape, 29, 9 : 43, 6
skarsnes (n.), scarceness, 70, 21
skaselye (adv.), scarcely, 68, 13
sklenderly (adv.), slightly, negligently, 128, 31
slacklye (adv.), listlessly, lazily, 41, 3
sleane (part.), slain, 135, 11
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